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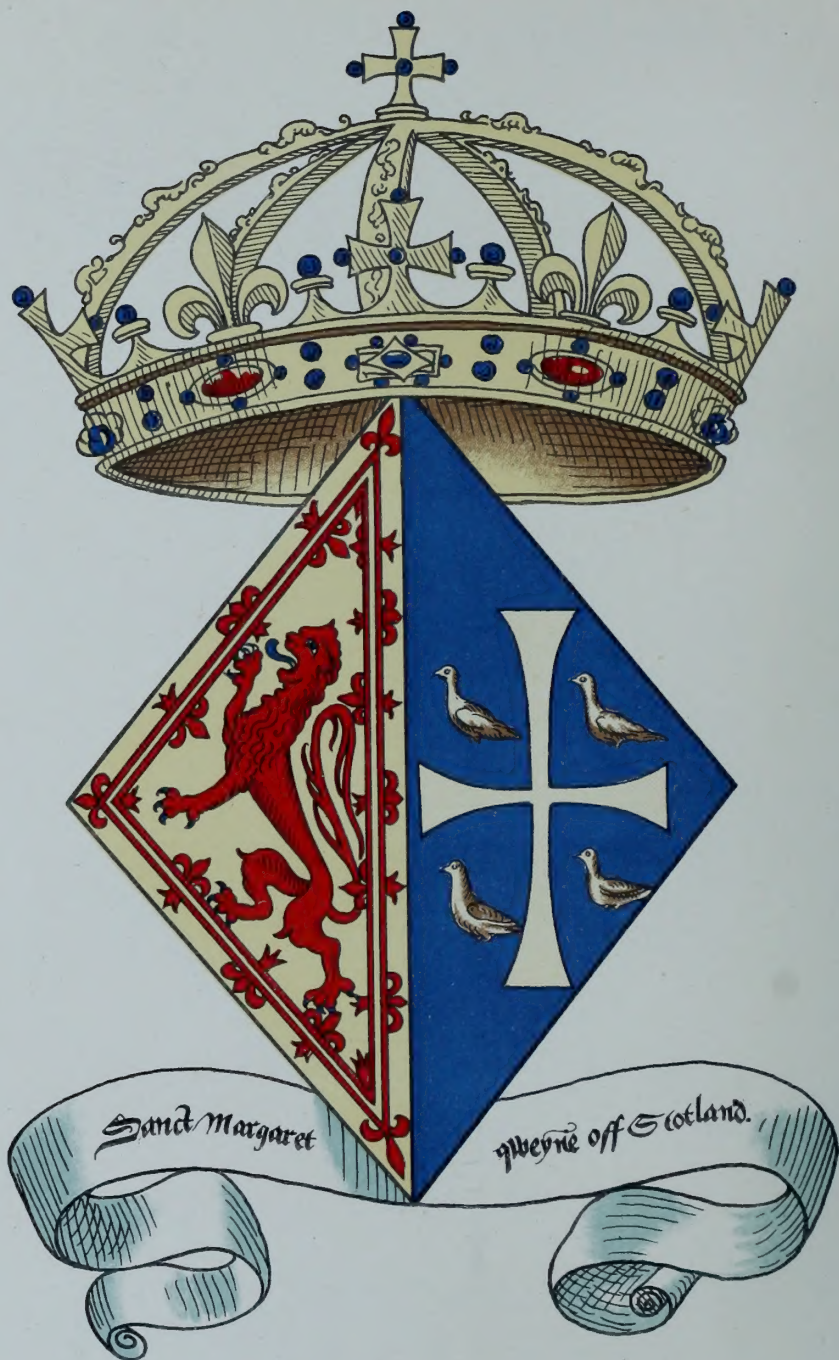


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ARMS OF ST MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND

Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of The Mount, 1542

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THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

FIFTH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

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SAINT MARGARET OF SCOTLAND

AND

HER CHAPEL IN THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH

THE ancient and picturesque Castle of Edinburgh occupies a prominent niche in the affections of every true-hearted Scot, and it is to be remembered with some degree of pride that there is no fortress of greater distinction to be found within the range of the British Islands. It has been so intimately interwoven with the eventful progress of our country, that it has dominated the whole history of Scotland for a period of nearly a thousand years. To a certain extent the Tower of London has occupied an analogous position in the history of England; but, as the streets of London after the Norman invasion of 1066 have never once felt the tread of a foreign invader, the Tower has served more as a prison-house and place of execution than as a military post. Our old Castle has been the residence, and oftentimes the prison, of our Scottish princes; while the great fight against our 'auld enemies of England' for the independence of our country has largely centred round its possession. It became thereby the Palladium of Scottish liberty. It has withstood sieges innumerable, and within its walls deeds both of heroism and of darkness have been enacted. Now, the most interesting and pathetic figure in Scottish history whose name has been closely associated with the Castle is the saintly Margaret, wife of King Malcolm III.; and it is surprising that, notwithstanding the tempests of shot and shell and other misfortunes that have so often overwhelmed the buildings in the Castle, there should still remain

to us an echo of her pious personality in the little chapel or oratory which she founded more than eight centuries ago. The Queen died on 16th November 1093, and the question of the date of the foundation of the chapel is naturally one of considerable importance. Its preservation to our day may be ascribed to two fortunate circumstances—to its unique position on the highest pinnacle of the Castle rock at some little distance from the enclosing battlements, and to the reverent care bestowed on it by our Scottish sovereigns down to the time of the Reformation. The little oratory may, indeed, be identified as the oldest building now to be found within the Castle walls—if not indeed within the precincts of the city¹—and from its traditional association with the life and personality of Queen Margaret there has gathered round it, in the eyes of our countrymen, a perfect halo of romance and veneration.

It is obvious that the value of all historical inquiry depends entirely upon the existence and accuracy of contemporary documentary evidence. Unfortunately, the whole of our national records dated prior to the end of the year 1093,²

¹ The foundations of the little Celtic church which have been recently uncovered by Mr. Oldrieve at Holyrood may, perhaps, point to a building of an earlier date.

² In point of fact there is not a scrap of Scottish handwriting dated prior to the year 1100 to be found in our country at the present moment; and the only Scottish documents written anterior to that year now extant consist of—

(1) The *Life of St. Columba*, written in the Columban monastery of Iona by Adamnan, the ninth abbot—who, however, was of Irish birth—between the years 692 and 695. The volume must have been taken to Germany after the descent of the Danes upon the island in 826, when a strong tide of Scots from both Ireland and Scotland set in towards that country. It was found in the beginning of the seventeenth century at the monastery of *Augia Dives*, the Rich Meadow, or Reichenau, an island in Lake Constance, and is now preserved in the Public Library at Schaffhausen.

(2) The *Book of Deer*, written in the ninth century, and kept in the University of Cambridge; and

(3) A few charters dated at the end of the eleventh century—two or three of which are forgeries—and preserved in the treasury of Durham Cathedral.

The *Pictish Chronicle* is believed to have been written in the tenth century, but the earliest copy now extant only dates from the fourteenth century. The *notitiæ* which appear in the *Book of Deer*, etc., were inserted not earlier than the twelfth century.

the year of her death, have disappeared, and we are dependent for our knowledge of early Scottish history upon the casual and often variant and conflicting references to be found in the contemporary annals of England and Ireland. There is also one notable fact in our history which it is necessary to keep in view. Subsequent to the advent of St. Columba in the sixth century, Scots were, of course, to be found both in Ireland and in Scotland; but it was not until the early years of the eleventh century that the name of *Scotia* seems to have been permanently transferred from Ireland to our country.¹ Accordingly, we find a reference under the year 1034 in a chronicle by Marianus *Scotus*—Marianus the Irishman—to King Malcolm II. as 'King of the Scots.'² This is the earliest notice in literature of such a designation.

King Malcolm III., surnamed Ceanmor—the Great Head or Chief—was born *circa* 1031. Nine years later his father, King Duncan I., the 'Gracious Duncan'³ of Shakespeare, was murdered by Macbeth, one of his military chiefs, at Bothnagowan or Pitgownie—the hut of the smith—a place now known as Pitgaveny, and situated within two miles of the town of Elgin. The young Malcolm was at once carried off for safety to England, where he remained at the Court of Edward the Confessor for a period of fourteen years.⁴ On 27th July 1054 his kinsman, Siward, Earl of Northumbria, defeated Macbeth at Scone, and young Malcolm thereupon became King of Cumbria⁵ or Strathclyde, as well as ruler of the district of Lothian. Three years later, on 15th August 1057, Macbeth⁶ was defeated and slain by Malcolm at Lunfanan

¹ The name *Scotia* was at first applied to that part of this country termed Albania which lay between the Firth of Forth and the river Spey.

² 1034, Malcoluim Rex Scotiæ obiit 7 Kal. Decembri.—*Marianus Scotus*.

³ Shakespeare represents him as an aged king, but at his death he was only about forty years of age.

⁴ Fordun.

⁵ See authorities quoted in Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*.

⁶ Of the personal history of Macbeth almost nothing is known. Shakespeare drew the materials for his tragedy from Hollingshed's *Chronicle*, which, in turn, was founded

in Mar, and in March of the following year his step-son and successor, Lulach the Simple, met a similar fate at Essie in Strathbogie. Malcolm then ascended the throne of his father as King of the Scots, and was crowned at Scone on 25th April 1058. He proved a vigorous and warlike monarch, and it is to him that the consolidation of Scotland as it is now geographically constituted is mainly due. The Norsemen still held portions of the north of Scotland; but Malcolm committed an act of political wisdom by marrying the widow of Thorfinn Sigurdson, Earl of Orkney, somewhere about the year 1059.

I

The success which attended the Normans in their invasion of England in the autumn of the year 1066 was phenomenal. Within a couple of years of the battle of Hastings, at which Harold the English king was slain, the royal family of Saxon England, now represented by Edgar Atheling and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, fled for shelter into Scotland, where they met with a kindly reception from King Malcolm. Symeon of Durham tells us, under the year 1070, that King Malcolm, when ravaging the north of England, arrived in the town of Wearmouth. Here, 'it was announced to him that Edgar Atheling and his sisters, fair maidens of royal birth, and many other very rich men fleeing from their estates, had come to shore in ships at that harbour. They therefore commended themselves to him; and when they came to him he spoke to them kindly, and granted them with his firmest peace to dwell in his realm so long as they would, with all their followers.'¹ Edgar's intention was to return

upon the writings of our romantic fabulist, Hector Boece. It is through the genius of our great dramatist that Boece's fictions have found a permanent position in English literature.

¹ *Historia Regum*, vol. ii. pp. 190-2, quoted by Alan O. Anderson in *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, p. 92. This publication forms a recent and valuable addition to our historical 'sources.'

to Hungary, his native land ; but on leaving Wearmouth the ships in which he and his companions sailed were driven northward by a storm, and finally sailed up the Firth of Forth, where they found shelter at a place subsequently known as St. Margaret's Hope.

' The kynryk saw dystrowblyd swa,
Off cownsale wyth hys systrys twa
A schype he gat, and tuk the sé.
(For) to pas agayne thowcht he,
And arryve in the Empyre,
Quhare-off than lord wes hys gud-syre.
And as thai ware on sé sayland,
The wynd swa skant wes than blawand,
That off fors, as wynd thame movyd,
Come in the Fyrth as thame behowyd,
And in Saynt Margretys Hope belyve
Off propyre nede than till arryve.
On this manere Saynt Margret
In till the kynryk apon thret
Come off hapnyng in Scotland,
Quhen Malcolme in it wes Kyng ryngnand.' ¹

Boece assures us that Malcolm, by this time, had returned to Dunfermline, and, learning of the arrival of the strangers, he courteously sent messengers to inquire as to their lineage and nationality:

Sed vos quo tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris,
Quove tenetis iter ?

The travellers thereupon betook themselves to Dunfermline, where they were entertained by their royal host, who shortly afterwards fell in love with the young Margaret, Edgar's sister. By this time Malcolm's first wife, Queen Ingibjorg, must have been dead, although, as a recent historian ² maintains, her death, on account of the then prevailing

¹ *Wyntoun*, ii. 147. Fordun also identifies the place as *Sinus S. Margarete*.

² Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. 135.

laxity in questions relating to the dissolution of marriage, 'is by no means necessarily to be implied from Malcolm's second marriage.' This theory, however, in view of Margaret's strong religious inclinations, may be dismissed as highly improbable. Her original intention was to enter a nunnery and become the bride of Heaven ; but, under pressure from her brother, she eventually consented to her union with the Scottish king. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* there is a passage which, although evidently an interpolation taken from some life of Queen Margaret written after the year 1100, and not now extant, furnishes a vivid, but probably true, story of King Malcolm's wooing ¹—

'Then the King Malcolm began to yearn for (Edgar's) sister Margaret as his wife, but (Edgar) and all his men long refused ; and she herself long opposed it ; and said that she would have neither him nor any one, if the sublime mercy would grant to her that she might please the mighty Lord in maidenhood with bodily heart in this short life, in pure continence.

'The King eagerly urged her brother until he said "yea" to it, and indeed he dared not do otherwise, because they had come into his power.

'Then it came to pass as God had designed beforehand, and it could not be otherwise ; even as He Himself saith in His gospel that even a sparrow cannot fall into a snare without His design. The prescient Creator knew beforehand what He would have made of her. For she was to increase God's praise in the land, and to direct the King from the erring path, and to bend him to a better way, and his people with him ; and to suppress the evil customs which that people had formerly used ; even as afterwards she did.

'Then the King received her, though it was against her will. And her customs pleased him, and he thanked God who had by His power given him such a consort ; and wisely bethought him, since he was very prudent, and turned himself to God, and scorned every impurity ; according to that which the apostle Paul, teacher of all nations, saith : *Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem. Sic et mulier infidelis per*

¹ In one copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the event is recorded simply thus : 'King Malcolm took Margaret, the Child's sister, to wife.'

AND HER CHAPEL IN EDINBURGH CASTLE 7

virum fidelem ; and so on. That is, in our language, “*Very often the unbelieving husband is sanctified and saved by the righteous wife ; and, likewise, the wife by the believing husband.*”¹

The ceremony was duly solemnised *circa* 1068-9² at Dunfermline by Fothad, the last Celtic bishop of St. Andrews—

‘ Off Saynt Andrewys the byschape than
The secund Fothawch, a cunnand man,
Devotly mad that sacrament
That thai then tuk in gud intent.’³

Perhaps no other royal marriage, either in England or Scotland, has carried in its train results of greater importance to both of these countries, and Fordun heads one of his chapters with the remark that ‘ Happily for the Scots, Edgar Atheling and his sister Margaret, afterwards Queen of the Scots, land in Scotland.’⁴ Fortunately a biography of Margaret when Queen of Scotland was, at the request of her daughter Matilda, who married Henry I. of England, written by Margaret’s Confessor, the well-known Turgot, Prior of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews⁵—

‘ Off Saynt Andrewys Byschape than
Turgot wes, a cunnand man ;
Off Durame before he wes Prioure
And than Saynt Margretys confessoure.’

The original is not extant, but a copy, of the latter part of the twelfth century, is to be found in a folio volume written on vellum in the British Museum.⁶ There is also an abridg-

¹ Anderson’s *Annals*, pp. 93-4.

² There is great diversity of opinion as to the exact date. Several English authorities vary from 1067 to 1070. Both Fordun and the *Melrose Chronicle* accept the year 1070 ; but, in the latter, the year 1067 has also been interpolated. Freeman accepts 1070 as the date, although Dunbar puts it with greater probability as the year 1068-9.

³ *Wyntoun*, ii. 162.

⁴ Vol. ii. 202.

⁵ *Wyntoun*, ii. 167. Turgot belonged to a good Saxon family. He became a monk, and in 1087 prior of Durham ; bishop of St. Andrews in 1109 ; and died in 1115.

⁶ *MS. Cott. Tiber.*, D. iii. p. ii. 45, f. 179b-186.

ment¹ of this MS. compiled during the latter end of the fourteenth century. The Life, which forms the only authentic account now extant of the Queen after her marriage, was printed by Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum*,² and republished by Pinkerton in the *Vitae Sanctorum Scotiae*,³ and both editors accept the claim of one Theodoric as its author. But Turgot, who acted as her Confessor, is now universally accepted as the writer of this biography, of which an excellent translation has been recently published by Father Forbes-Leith. In this memoir⁴ Turgot has depicted for all time the personal characteristics of one of the noblest types of womanhood that have ever adorned the pages of recorded history. He speaks from intimate knowledge, and with all the enthusiasm of a clergyman enthralled with the mysterious beauty of a life of unsurpassed piety and self-abnegation; but he was in no sense a historian of current events. He omits all mention of the notabilities with whom she had communion, as well as of the exciting incidents that must have surged round the personality of the Queen during that eventful period. Nor is he troubled with questions of time or place. Turgot has painted for us a striking and interesting portrait of the Queen, drawn with, perhaps, more than pre-Raphael-like fidelity; but, by omitting to complete his canvas with a suitable setting taken from the exciting life of the period, he has greatly restricted the value and general effect of his picture. In short, in Turgot's Life of the Queen, the clergyman has entirely overshadowed the biographer, and the opportunity to fill in an important blank in our national history has been thereby lost for ever.⁵

¹ *Cott. Tiber.*, E. i. f. 184b.

² Tom. ii. 101 (10th June).

³ P. 328.

⁴ *The Life of St. Margaret*, edited by Father Forbes-Leith, S.J.

⁵ In this respect Adamnan, in his *Life of St. Columba*, failed equally with Turgot. Both compare unfavourably with Bede, who did not confine his story to the life of St. Cuthbert, and thereby earned the title of The Venerable, as well as the gratitude of all his countrymen. Turgot's Life is, in reality, more a character sketch than a biography.

The first act of the Queen after her marriage was to erect 'in the place where her nuptials had been held' a noble church in honour of the Holy Trinity. It may be presumed that the little Romanesque Celtic church attached to Malcolm's dwelling—or palace, if it can be so described—and in which she had been married, was at this period removed to make way for the new building, which she further beautified with a valuable cross and other rich gifts, including 'many vessels of pure and solid gold for the sacred service of the altar, about which I can speak with a greater certainty since, by the Queen's orders, I myself for a long time had all of them under my charge.' It is evident, also, that both Malcolm and his Queen made provision for the maintenance of divine service in the new building, although, if the grants were ever made in actual writing, the charters themselves have been lost.¹ The earliest authentic record of these grants is a Charter of Confirmation under the Great Seal issued in 1128 by her son David I.² In this deed, which is a general confirmation of preceding royal grants in favour of the Abbey of Dunfermline, he confirms the gifts by his father and mother of certain lands situated in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline and in the Sheriffdom of Midlothian.

II

From childhood Queen Margaret seems to have been strongly permeated with the religious ideas of her time, and, as she grew into womanhood, they controlled every action of her life. Over her children she exercised a close supervision, particularly in their religious education, and her influence became evident in the beneficent reigns of her three

¹ The charter professedly granted by Malcolm and his Queen, and printed in the *Registrum de Dunfermline* from an alleged copy by Sir James Balfour, is admittedly spurious.

² *Reg. de Dunfermline*, No. 1; *Early Scottish Charters*, Laurie, p. 61.

sons Edgar, Alexander, and David, who each in turn succeeded to the throne. It was even strongly felt by David's grandsons, Malcolm iv. and William the Lion, as well as by William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and Alexander III. She occupied herself largely with the preparation of priestly vestments or church ornaments, and her chamber became, according to a custom which prevailed down to the Reformation, a workshop of sacred art, littered at all times with the work of her own hand and of certain of the ladies of the Court. Of her charity to the poor Turgot bears strong evidence. She gave freely all that she had, and even when out of doors, either on foot or horseback, none of the orphans and widows who flocked to her for assistance left her un comforted. She would even borrow from her personal attendants, or make use of the King's private purse in order to assist some needy individual. The gold coins which Malcolm required upon Maundy-Thurs day and at High Mass were often devoutly pillaged and bestowed upon some clamant beggar. The King was much amused at these purloinings, of which he pretended to know nothing, and now and again, when he caught her in the very act with the money in her hand, he would laughingly threaten to have her arrested, tried and found guilty ! In particular she was charitable to those of her own nation, and numbers of the English of all ranks, who had been carried captive from their own land and reduced to slavery, she restored to liberty by paying their ransom. Turgot relates that in the early morning it was her custom to receive nine destitute orphans whom she herself fed ; while in the royal hall three hundred poor folks assembled and awaited the entrance of the King and Queen. With the exception of the chaplains and the servants, no others were permitted to be present, and, when the food was brought in, the King served the people who were seated on the one side, and the Queen those on the other. In attendance on the Queen were twenty-four poor people, for

whom accommodation was always found in close proximity to her wherever she happened to be in residence. It was only after refreshing these humble poor that she herself partook of food. 'She ate no more than sufficed for the preservation of her life, and not to gratify her palate. Her meals—frugal and scanty—rather excited her hunger than allayed it.' This abstemious mode of living no doubt shattered her constitution and eventually hastened her death. We are told that she greatly encouraged foreign merchants, who introduced for sale certain precious wares until then unknown in this country, and, at her instigation, the people purchased from these traders clothing of various colours with suitable ornaments. Into the King's service she appointed persons of superior rank, of whom a number acted as his personal escort whenever he either walked or rode abroad. The palace itself was brightened by the many gold and silver vessels used for the table, and on State occasions she robed herself in royal splendour, although Turgot assures us that the spirit which animated her was humility. In the course of time the Queen 'directed all such things as it was fitting for her to regulate; the laws of the realm were administered by her counsel; by her care the influence of religion was extended, and the people rejoiced in the prosperity of their affairs.'

Naturally, it was in regard to religious matters that the personal influence of Queen Margaret was largely directed. With the various customs and observances of the Celtic Church she had little sympathy. She had adopted as her spiritual father and adviser the celebrated Lanfranc,¹ Archbishop of Canterbury, and, *circa* 1074, we find Lanfranc, in a beautiful letter to the Queen, intimating that at her request he had sent a priest named Sir Goldewin and two other

¹ Lanfranc was born at Pavia, *circa* 1005. He shone as a scholar and a debater, and was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. He rebuilt the cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire in 1067, in the Norman style of architecture.

fratres, or brethren, to assist her in carrying out her proposed reforms.¹

‘I send,’ said Lanfranc, ‘to your most excellent husband and thyself, according to your request, our dearest brother Sir Goldewin and also two other brethren, as he alone is not able to perform that service to God and you which behoves to be done. And I ask and most earnestly desire that, because it is for God and for your souls, you begin at once and endeavour effectually to perfect the work ; and if it is possible, or you wish your work to be completed by others, I earnestly desire that you will return these brethren to me, because their services are exceedingly necessary in our church.’

The Queen caused frequent councils to be held, the most important of which occupied three days, and it was for this meeting that the services of Sir Goldewin and his two brethren were required. The Queen took a prominent part in the discussion, and pressed her reforms on the representatives of the Celtic Church, alleging that those who served God in one faith along with the Catholic Church, ‘ought not to vary from that church by new or far-fetched usages’; while the King himself,² being well acquainted with the English language, acted as interpreter and assessor for all parties. The questions in dispute were—

- (1) That Lent should commence on Ash Wednesday instead of on the Monday after it ;
- (2) That the Eucharist should be celebrated on Easter Day ;
- (3) That Mass should be said according to the use of the Western Church and not (as in some parts of Scotland) after a barbarous ritual ;
- (4) That Sunday should be observed as a day of rest ;
- (5) That marriage within prohibited degrees should not be recognised ;
- (6) And that other abuses contrary to Holy Scriptures should be corrected.

¹ Stevenson's *Scalacronica*, Maitland Club, App., pp. 222-3.

² Gaelic was his mother-tongue, and, according to Fordun, he was well acquainted with both English and Latin.

TWO LEAVES FROM THE BOOK OF THE GOSPELS WHICH
BELONGED TO ST. MARGARET OF SCOTLAND

SCS MATTHEYS
EYANGELISTA.



INCIPIT EUAN
GELIUM SCÖN
MATTHEYM

IBER

GENE

RATIO

nir ihu xpi filii dauid - filii
abrahā. A brabam autem ge
nuit isaac. isaac autem genuit ia
cob. iacob autem genuit iudam
& fratres eius. iudas autem genuit
phares & zara & bamar. phares
autem genuit esrom. esrom dux
genuit aram

Turgot remarks, probably with truth, that none present possessed a deeper intellect than the Queen, or greater powers of verbal expression.

The Queen was a great lover of books, and her biographer informs us that, although Malcolm was unable to read, he would turn over and examine the books used during her devotions or in her study, and whenever she expressed a liking for any particular book he would regard it 'with special interest, kissing it and often taking it into his hands.' He would even issue instructions to ornament the volume with gold and gems, and, on the completion of the work, he himself used to carry it to the Queen as a loving proof of his devotion. Her most treasured possession was a Book of the Gospels ornamented with figures of the four Evangelists, and having the capital letters illuminated in ruddy gold. It was enclosed in a metal case, probably of silver, and was profusely ornamented in the Celtic manner with gold and precious stones. Of this special book Turgot relates

'that as the person who carried it was once crossing a ford, he let the book, which had been carelessly folded in a wrapper, fall into the middle of the river. Unconscious of what had occurred, the man quietly continued his journey; but when he wished to produce the book, suddenly it dawned upon him that he had lost it. Long was it sought, but nowhere could it be found. At last it was discovered lying open at the bottom of the river. Its leaves had been kept in constant motion by the action of the water, and the little coverings of silk which protected the letters of gold from becoming injured by contact with the opposite page were carried off by the force of the current. Who would fancy that the book could afterwards be of any value? Who would believe that even a single letter would have been visible? Yet, of a truth, it was taken up out of the middle of the river so perfect, so uninjured, so free from damage, that it did not seem to have even been touched by the water . . . except that in part of the end leaves the least possible mark of damp might be detected.'

This miraculous incident had the not unnatural effect of

increasing the value of the wonderful book in the mind of the Queen, and she prized its possession more than ever.

In addition to the noble church at Dunfermline, we learn from Turgot's pages that Margaret erected at each of the Queensferrys shelters or rest-houses for the poor and for the pilgrims to the holy church at St. Andrews, and that

'she had arranged they should there find all that they needed for the refreshment of the body. Servants were appointed, whose especial duty it was to see that everything which might be required for these wayfarers should always be in readiness, and who were directed to attend upon them with all diligence.'

Free passage by ships from the one ferry to the other was also provided for those who desired to cross over the Firth of Forth.¹ From another chronicler, Ordericus Vitalis,² we also learn that she reconstructed the ancient monastery at Iona, and in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews there appears a *notitia* or notice of a grant by Margaret and her husband, Malcolm, of the lands of Balcristie in Fife in favour of the Culdees of Lochleven.³

III

At Laurencekirk there had been erected a church in honour of St. Laurence, a canonised predecessor of Lanfranc in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, to which admission to women was strictly prohibited. A curious story is related by a monk of Canterbury of an unsuccessful attempt by Queen Margaret to violate the traditions of that church, in her anxiety to do honour to this English saint. It appears that

¹ The earliest notice of the ferry as *Queensferry* appears in a charter, circa 1164, by Malcolm iv. granting free passage to the monks of Scone *ad portum Regine* (*Liber Eccl. de Scon*, p. 6). In a charter by David i. it is styled *Passagium de Inurkethin* (*Reg. de Dunfermline*, p. 21).

² *Celtic Scot.*, Skene, ii. 351.

³ *Regist. Prior. St. Andreae*, 115.

this church was surrounded with 'such a privilege of holiness that never once did foot of woman enter therein.' Inspired, no doubt, by the characteristic feminine love of curiosity, Queen Margaret appeared one day at the door of the shrine, carrying candles and other sacred offerings in pilgrimage. The canons, ever on the watch, had noticed her approach, and earnestly besought her not to transgress the 'law of their holy order, nor incur offending their presiding patron.' Their humble request failed to turn the Queen from her purpose, and, alleging that it was her desire only to exalt the holy place, she pressed forward to enter the church; but 'no sooner had she touched the porch than, suddenly struck with terrible agonies throughout her whole body, she exclaimed, "Quick, take me hence, for I am already dead." ' Through the prayers of the clergy she was restored to health, and in gratitude she adorned the church with various gifts, including among them a silver cross and a chalice. Thereafter she humbly and with much veneration prayed to St. Laurence of the sexual disability which prevented her approaching him in person.¹ The legend is referred to by Goscelin or Gotselin of Canterbury in his account of the translation of St. Augustine written in 1098, five years only after the death of Queen Margaret.²

King Malcolm reigned for thirty-five years, a long period when we consider the uncertain tenure of life permitted in all ages to the occupants of our Scottish throne; but he was a born soldier, ever able and willing to support his royal position with the aid of his good sword. Altogether he carried out, perhaps somewhat ruthlessly, no fewer than five invasions of the north of England, three of which may be said to have been in support of his brother-in-law, Edgar Atheling. In 1072 William the Conqueror invaded Scot-

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., i. p. 294, quoted by Dr. Joseph Robertson in the *Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, i. pf. xxi.

² *Ibid.*, Maii, v. pp. 881-3, cited in *Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, i. pf. xxi-xxii.

land both by sea and by land, and at Abernethy in Fife he was met by King Malcolm. Neither king was willing to proceed to extremities, and an arrangement was entered into whereby Malcolm received a grant of certain manors in England, along with a promise of an annual payment of twelve marks in gold. For this grant—not for his kingdom—Malcolm was to render homage and give up his son Duncan as a hostage for the fulfilment of his obligations. The Conqueror died in 1087, and, four years later, Edgar Atheling was once more driven by his successor, William II., to seek refuge in Scotland. William also refused to carry out the Conqueror's grant of English manors, and Malcolm entered England in the hope of enforcing his claim; but, finding that the country had risen in arms to oppose his progress, he returned to Scotland, whither he was soon afterwards followed by William II. and his brother Robert. A fleet sent in support had been dispersed by a storm, and when Malcolm boldly advanced into Lothian to meet the English invaders, a collision was avoided through the intervention of Edgar at the personal solicitation of Robert. Edgar became reconciled to William, whom he accompanied homewards into England. William still failed to implement his obligation, until, at length, an illness disposed him to listen to the entreaties of his advisers. Naming Gloucester as the place of meeting, he then handed over hostages for the safety of the Scottish king, and appointed Edgar Atheling to escort Malcolm thither. On the 11th of August 1093, when marching southwards, Malcolm was present at the foundation of Durham Cathedral—perhaps the most impressive of all the English cathedrals—and towards the close of the month he reached Gloucester, only to find that admission to the royal presence was haughtily denied. To an insolent demand to 'do right' in the English court according to the judgment of the English barons, Malcolm indignantly refused compliance, and stoutly maintained the complete independence of himself and his kingdom. Re-

turning home in wrath, he raised an army, and again crossed the Borders in spite of the warnings of Queen Margaret. At this date the Queen was residing in the Castle in apartments close to her oratory. For six months she had been suffering from an infirmity of unusual severity, induced mainly through her self-imposed life of fasting and of prayer; and Turgot has described the manner of her death

‘as I heard it narrated by a priest of hers, whom she loved more intimately than the others on account of his simplicity, his innocence, and his purity. . . . He was continually beside the Queen during the last days of her life, and with his prayers recommended her soul to Christ when it was leaving the body. He gave me more than once a connected narrative of her decease as he saw it, for I frequently asked him to do so; and in doing this he was moved to tears.’

On account of her long illness she had ceased to take exercise on horseback, and, indeed, was seldom able to rise from her bed. On 13th November

‘she became sadder than usual. Then she said to me, for I was seated near her: “Perhaps on this very day such a heavy calamity may befall the realm of Scotland as has not been for many ages past.”’

Her foreboding of disaster to her husband had been at that very moment realised. When near Alnwick King Malcolm had been treacherously slain. The details of the incident are involved in obscurity; but the fatal blow was dealt by Morel of Bamborough, to whom he had been bound in ties of the closest intimacy. Edward, Margaret’s eldest son, was also mortally wounded, and the Scottish army broke up in disorder, and retreated northwards. Young Edward died a day or two afterwards at a place in Jedwood forest, subsequently known as Edward’s Isle. The scene of the tragedy—about a mile distant from Alnwick Castle—is marked by a cross; while near to it are the remains of a Romanesque chapel, built, it is believed, in commemoration. The body of the King was discovered by

two peasants, who conveyed it to Tynemouth, where it was consigned to an obscure tomb. On the 16th, three days after the death of the King, Margaret's sickness having somewhat abated, she went into her oratory to hear mass, and there, in view of her approaching dissolution, she partook of the holy *viaticum*. Returning to her bed, the sickness assailed her with redoubled severity, and, after issuing directions that the priest should stand near her and commend her soul to Christ in psalms, she asked her attendants to bring her most venerated relic, the Black Cross, which she herself had carried with her into Scotland. When, after some delay, it was taken from the chest in which it was kept, and brought to her, 'she received it with reverence and did her best to embrace it and kiss it, and several times she signed herself with it.' Then holding up the Cross with both hands, she repeated the whole of the fiftieth psalm. At this moment her son Edgar, who had been with the army, entered the bedroom, and, observing his mother's prostrate condition, stood transfixed with emotion. The Queen suddenly rallied, and asked him about his father and her son Edward. The youth attempted in vain to evade his mother's inquiries, but, with a deep sigh, she exclaimed, 'I know it, my boy, I know it. By this holy Cross, by the bond of our blood, I adjure you to tell me the truth.' To refrain longer from speaking was impossible, and young Edgar told her the whole of the sad story. The shock of learning that both her husband and eldest son were dead had an immediate and disastrous effect on her enfeebled frame, and she expired of grief in the act of repeating the prayer usually uttered by the priest before receiving the sacrament: 'Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to the will of the Father, through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me.' Her last words were 'deliver me.'

IV

The news of the disaster to Malcolm had the effect of rousing the Celtic portion of the kingdom, whose sympathies were antagonistic to the innovations in the Church brought about through Margaret's influence. Donald Bane, brother of the deceased monarch, was elected to the throne under the old Gaelic law of Tanistry, by these malcontents, and he laid siege to Edinburgh Castle. But, says Fordun,

'forasmuch as that spot is in itself strongly fortified by nature, Donald deemed that the gates only need be guarded, because it was not easy to see any other entrance or outlet. When those who were within understood this, being taught of God, through the merits, as we believe, of the holy Queen, they brought down her body by a postern on the western side. Some indeed declare that during the whole of that journey a thick mist surrounded all this family and miraculously screened them from the view of their foes, so that nothing hindered them as they travelled by land or sea ; but they succeeded in bringing her away to the place desired, as she herself had before commanded, viz., to the Church of Dunfermline.'

Twenty years afterwards, through the filial piety of his son, Alexander I., the body of King Malcolm was conveyed from Tynemouth and placed near that of his saintly Queen in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline. St. Berchan, in his so-called prophecy, furnishes the following panegyric of Malcolm :—

The fair, the brown will give love
A King the best who possessed Alban.
He was a King of Kings fortunate,
He was the vigilant crusher of enemies.

No woman bore or will bring forth in the East
A King whose rule will be greater over Alban,
And there shall not be born for ever,
One who had more fortune and greatness.

The holy cross for which Margaret had asked with her dying breath was the famous Black Rood of Scotland, a relic regarded by the Scots with awe and veneration approaching almost to fear. It undoubtedly formed a portion of the remnant of the contents of the royal Saxon treasury which she and her brother, Edgar Atheling, had been able to rescue from the clutches of the Norman invaders, and to bring with them into Scotland. Towards the cross generally, as a symbol of Christian devotion, Margaret had a special regard, and we know that in addition to those which she bestowed upon the Abbey of Dunfermline as well as the churches at Laurencekirk and St. Andrews, she gifted another to the Cathedral Church at Durham. The Black Rood, however, she left as an heirloom to her children,¹ and when not carried about by our sovereigns in their wanderings throughout the country, was probably preserved in the little oratory in the Castle. David I., the 'sair sanct for the croon,' developed, in imitation of his mother, what may be described as a perfect genius for religion. He died on 24th May 1153, and his admirer and biographer, the Abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, tells us that, on the penultimate day of his life, he was carried by the clergy and knights into the Chapel, where he witnessed the celebration of mass. On the conclusion of the service, he demanded that 'the venerated cross which they called the Black Rood should be brought forth that he might adore it.' We may presume, therefore, that King David was accustomed to carry about this memorial of his mother with him in his journeys; while we also learn from his biography that the Cross itself

'was about the length of the palm of the hand, was constructed in wonderful workmanship of the purest gold, opening and shutting in the form of a casket, in which was seen a part of the cross of Christ, as was afterwards proved by the testimony of many miracles, on which there was the figure of Our Saviour cut out of massive ivory—*de*

¹ Pinkerton, *Vitæ Sanct. Scot.*, ed. Metcalfe, ii. 282.

ebore densissime sculptam—and beautifully outlined with decorations of gold.’¹

King David was buried at Dunfermline, in the ‘sepulchre of the Kings of Scotland, where, also, rests the holy Queen Margaret, his mother.’ John of Hexham relates that when the funeral procession reached the place now known as South Queensferry,

‘the sea which is near to Dunfermline raged with stormy blasts of wind, and threatened with shipwreck those who wished to cross with the body. But, when the King’s body was placed in the ship, the sea was stilled from the raging, and, when the body was lifted out of the ship upon the other shore, the sea was disturbed by the renewed surging of the storm.’²

Of the story of the Black Rood nothing further is known from this date down to the year 1291. Edward I. of England was then deeply engrossed in his pretended peaceful mission of arbiter in settling the claims of the numerous aspirants to the Scottish throne; and he evinced the dubious character of his policy by deliberately removing to Berwick many of our national muniments, relics, and other native monuments. The Black Rood of Scotland appears in a catalogue, dated 23rd August 1291, along with several other articles which were removed in this manner in the course of the following year from the royal treasury in the Castle, and it is there described as a ‘silver case of gold’—that is, gilt—‘in which rests the cross called *la blak rode*.’³ By this time, therefore, the sacred relic had been enclosed in a second case of silver, gilt. Five years later, on the outbreak of the great War of Independence, Edward forced those of the Scots notabilities who surrendered to take the oath of allegiance to him, and, in token thereof, to append their seals—in those days equivalent to signing—to a document known in this country as the Ragman Rolls. We may

¹ Pinkerton, *Vitae Sancti Scot.*, ed. Metcalfe, ii. 281.

² Anderson’s *Annals*, p. 231.

³ *Ayloff’s Cal.*, p. 330; *Scott. Acts of Parl.*, i. 112.

well believe that Edward had no intention of asserting thereby that the pen had at last become mightier than the sword; but the mere fact of sealing afforded him an excuse for the exercise of ruthless punishment on the unfortunate recusants. He also took the Black Rood with him into Scotland, and upon it and other relics certain of the leading Scots swore allegiance. Among these was the patriotic Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, who took the oath of fealty no fewer than six times—only to break it whenever suitable occasion seemed to offer itself! Another was Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews and friend of Wallace, who swore on the Consecrated Host, upon the Gospels, and upon the Cross of St. Neot—a great Welsh relic—and the Black Rood of Scotland, to be true and faithful to King Edward and his heirs for ever! ¹

Under the Treaty of Northampton of 1328, the English finally renounced their claim of superiority over our country, and Edward III. through his mother, then Regent, restored 'the part of the Cross of Christ which the Scots call the Black Rood'; ² but, adds the chronicler, 'the stone of Scone on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to be crowned at Scone, the people of London would in no wise permit to be returned.' On 17th October 1346, David II., the unworthy son of the great Bruce, was defeated and taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Durham (or Neville's Cross), and the Black Rood, which David had brought into the field with him, fell into the hands of the victors. It found an appropriate and final resting-place in the Cathedral of Durham until the year 1540, when that great building was 'purified,' to use the language of John Knox, by the myrmidons of Henry VIII., and, thereafter, all further trace of the two memorials of the good Queen Margaret—the Black Rood and the Cross which she gifted to Durham—has been lost.

For the other treasured possession of the Queen when

¹ Palgrave, *Doc. and Rec. of Scot.*, i. clxxiii.

² *Lanercost Chron.*, p. 261.

resident in the Castle—the famous Book of the Gospels, which forms so prominent a feature in Turgot's memoirs—a nobler fate has been reserved. By an extraordinary coincidence, this very volume was actually purchased in 1887 at Sotheby's in London by the Bodleian Library of Oxford for the trifling sum of £6. The seller was a William Brice of Bristol, and it was described in the sale catalogue as having at one time belonged to the Brent-Ely Library. The experts who examined the manuscript identified it as English work of the early half of the eleventh century; and it is evident that Queen Margaret must have carried it with her into Scotland. On the flyleaf of the MS. a poem in Latin hexameters had been written, testifying that this very volume, which belonged to a certain king and holy queen, had been permitted, when in the act of being carried, without its case and unbound, by a priest in the folds of his robe, to fall into a river. It was at length discovered and rescued by a knight, and, to every one's surprise, it was found that the beautiful volume, notwithstanding its immersion in the water, was quite uninjured except the two leaves at either end, in which there appeared a slight contraction from the effect of the water. On the publication of the story in the poem, its similarity with that narrated by Turgot in his *Life of Queen Margaret* was pointed out by Miss Hill, daughter of the late Mr. Birbeck Hill, a well-known writer on Dr. Samuel Johnson; and the identity of the precious volume was finally established as the actual Book of the Gospels so often thumbed and read and so dearly loved by the saintly Queen when a resident in our ancient Castle. It forms, along with the coronation stone now in Westminster Abbey, the oldest memorial of our Scottish monarchy¹ now extant.

The following is a translation of the poem referred to :—

' O Christ, we shall all ever render thanks to Thee who hath manifested Thy wonders to us in our extremity. Certain persons, wishing

¹ Of course the stone relics at Iona of the Celtic kings of Alba are of an earlier date.

to take an oath upon this book among themselves, took it without a cover and unbound, which a priest receiving, placed in a fold of his gown. In crossing a river the book, unknown to the bearer, fell into the water and went to the bottom. But, after some time, a certain knight seeing it there, thought to save the book from its watery tomb; yet hesitates until he suddenly observed that the book was open and feared that the text was entirely destroyed. However, at length he dived into the water and brought forth this open gospel from the depths. O the great wonder of it, and the delighted astonishment of all, for the text remains everywhere uninjured save the two leaves at either end in which some contraction has taken place from the action of the waves. This manifests the work of Christ on behalf of the holy text. That this deed might manifest to us a still greater marvel, there was washed out by the water from the middle of the book a piece of cloth. May eternal salvation be to the King and holy Queen whose book was recently saved from the waves, and glory above all be unto God who preserved the said book.'

A beautiful reproduction of the manuscript volume has been issued by Father Forbes-Leith, who has in his Introduction appended a critical analysis of the poem, which he declares cannot possibly have been written later than the year 1100, and, probably, by a scribe to the dictation of Turgot himself.

V

Now, it will be readily understood that the question of the identification of the present Chapel in the Castle as the humble oratory so intimately associated with the life of Queen Margaret, is surrounded with considerable difficulty. It has been asserted in books innumerable that the Chapel is that which was founded by the saintly Queen more than eight centuries ago; but these statements are, one and all, based upon mere tradition, which, for the purposes of historical research, is worse than useless, and may be at once dismissed. Sentiment must not be allowed to override truth. On the

other hand, there also exists a certain body of architectural opinion restricting the period of foundation to the time of her son, David I. Nay, further, it has been alleged that, at the present day, there is not to be found in Scotland a single Norman building whose date of erection can be proved to be contemporary with Queen Margaret ; but here we join issue. To make such an assertion is, simply, to beg the question ; because architecture depends entirely upon recorded history for its dates, and, in the absence of record, it becomes, naturally, a comparative science. The destruction of our ancient Scottish muniments has been so thorough and complete, that comparison has, for the period in question, been rendered an impossibility. There are still to be found in our country a few ancient buildings, among which we may include the little Chapel of St. Margaret, whose real date of erection has, through the application of this wrong theory, been misunderstood. On the whole, I trust to be able to satisfy my readers that the Chapel is, beyond doubt, the veritable oratory which was founded by Queen Margaret, and to which reference is made by Turgot in his *Life of the Queen*. King David did make certain alterations on the little building, and, perhaps at a later date, a small chamber was erected above the chancel which was utilised for the time as the royal treasury. The Chapel was finally *restored* in 1853 by command of Queen Victoria ; but even at that late date, those responsible for the work failed to understand the meaning of that simple English term.

Neither must we forget that Margaret was also a builder, and that, as Turgot informs us, she left substantial reminiscences behind her at Dunfermline and at North and South Queensferry ; but Turgot's story is incomplete. Ordericus Vitalis, who wrote about thirty years after her death, tells us that 'among the other good deeds of this illustrious lady, she restored the monastery of Iona which Columba, the servant of Christ, erected in the time of Brude, son of Meilocon,

King of the Picts. It had fallen to ruin in the storms of war and lapse of ages ; but this faithful Queen rebuilt it, and furnished it with monks, with an endowment for performing the Lord's work.'¹ She must, therefore, have rebuilt this monastery, although no part of her handiwork can now be identified. The Chapel in the Castle belongs to the Norman style of architecture, and Margaret was the first to introduce Normans into our country. As previously mentioned, she was in direct communication with Archbishop Lanfranc, the builder of the great Norman cathedral at Canterbury, and others of the Norman clergy ; and it is unlikely that the Romanesque style of building of the Celtic churches, of which she showed her disapproval at Dunfermline, would continue in her day, when another of a bolder and more artistic type was finding its way northwards. Of the introduction of the Norman style of building she would be the first in our country to learn, and her little Chapel in the Castle was the earliest practical expression of her knowledge. It is, in all probability, the oldest specimen of Norman architecture in Scotland. The walls of the little building proclaim the true story of its foundation, although this fact, strangely enough, has hitherto escaped observation ; while, as will be seen, even the notices in the records, so far as now extant, point unerringly to Margaret as its founder.

The following brief description of the Chapel as it is presented to our eyes in this year of grace 1913 may enable our readers the better to understand the question at issue, and, in supplement, a copy of the careful plans drawn by the late Sir Henry Dryden, and now deposited in the National Museum in Queen Street, is herewith appended. These plans, although compiled in 1866, represent the building as it appears to-day with the exception of the heavy-looking porch, a modern excrescence which has obliterated the ancient doorway. The latter was still visible in the days of Sir Daniel Wilson,

¹ *Orderic. Vital.*, B. viii. c. 22, cited by Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 351.



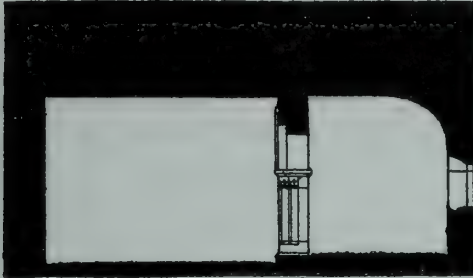
ST. MARGARET'S CHAPEL (1913)
From the North-west

AND HER CHAPEL IN EDINBURGH CASTLE 27

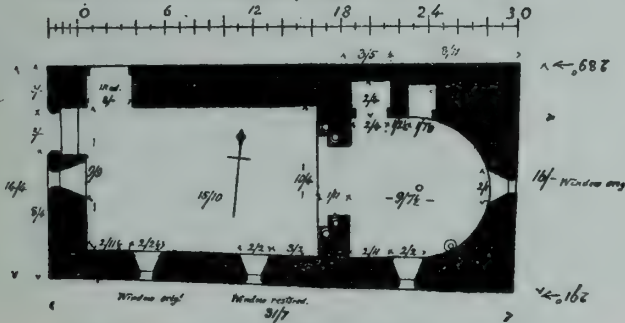
who rediscovered the Chapel in 1845; but, under the dread name of 'restoration,' it has been wiped out of existence. The three collotype illustrations also furnish a sufficient



Section looking south.



Section looking north.



Plan of St. Margaret's Chapel. By Sir Henry Dryden.

record of the appearance of the exterior walls of the Chapel as well as of the interior of the little building.

The Chapel of St. Margaret is perched upon the highest pinnacle of the Castle rock. The exterior walls form an

oblong of archaic shape, measuring 31 feet 7 inches in length from east to west, with a width of 16 feet at the east end, and only 14 feet 4 inches on the western side—of itself a proof of great antiquity. The roadway on the south has been lowered several feet, probably after the siege of 1573, to nearly the level of the gun-platform on the forewall. In Margaret's day, the sole entrance to the upper portion of the Castle, the citadel, was by the flight of steps on the northern side, and known afterwards as the 'Lang Stairs,' the top of which was defenced by an iron gate described in 1488 as 'St. Margaret's yett.'¹ The rocks on both the eastern and western sides of the Chapel have also been cut away, and on these three sides much underpinning has been necessary, the rubble stonework of which may, at least to a certain extent, be comparatively modern. The platform on the northern side, which was built to receive the ancient piece of ordnance—known for centuries by the familiar name of Mons Meg—on its return from London in 1829, is two feet below the level of the floor of the Chapel. The surviving Norman masonry is placed above the rubble work on the east, south, and west sides, and consists of two distinct kinds of stone, the one of a reddish colour, and the other grey but converted through long exposure to the weather into a pale blue tint. On the southern front the first two tiers are of the red stone, above which are seven of the grey-blue, up to and including one course over the arches of the windows, of which, on this side, there are three. The westerly window is also built of the grey-blue stone; while the other two have been restored, on the outside at least, in 1853. The upper tier of the red stone is continued round the west front, along with another above it, to a built-up doorway, which may be of early seventeenth-century work. A window, the southern jamb of which is modern, has been inserted on this side at a higher level than the three on the southern front. On the eastern side there are nine

¹ Thomson's *Inventory*, p. 186.



ST. MARGARET'S CHAPEL (1913)

From the South-west

successive tiers of the grey-blue stones beginning at the level—there are no red. Now, the two classes of masonry, red and blue, point to a distinct and definite conclusion, viz. that the Chapel was originally built of red stone, and that, shortly afterwards—at a time when the Norman style of architecture was still in vogue—the building was repaired and ‘restored’ with grey-blue, or rather grey, stonework. While, therefore, the exterior walls disclose the hands of both a founder and a restorer, it will be found that the interior of the Chapel not only affords incontestable proof of the truth of this contention, but, in addition, it furnishes us with the actual name of the restorer, and, as a sequence, decides for all time the identity of the founder.

The interior of the little building, which only measures 27 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches¹ from east to west, consists of a waggon vaulted nave, a chancel arch, and a chancel which has an apse roofed over with a vault forming the quadrant of a dome. The restorers of 1853 have roughly cemented over the roof of the apse and renewed the masonry of the roof of the nave. The ashlar work of the side walls has also been re-dressed. With the exception of the chancel arch, and the two alterations above mentioned, the masonry of the interior consists, practically, of reddish tinted stone similar to that seen at the base of the outer walls. Even the ‘ingoings’ of the windows, in spite of the necessary work of repair which the lapse of time brings in its train, tell of the *red* handiwork of the founder. The interior of the Chapel, therefore, consisted originally of only a nave and a chancel, and on the northern side of the latter there are indications of a narrow doorway² for the use of the priest. It has now been built up so as to form an ambry on the inside. ‘The chancel arch,’ says Dr. Thomas Ross, ‘while quite in proportion to the chapel, is little larger than an ordinary doorway. Its opening

¹ See *Eccl. Arch. of Scot.*, MacGibbon and Ross, i. 226.

² *Ibid.*, i. 227.

measures 5 feet 1 inch wide by 6 feet 4 inches to the springing of the arch, and 9 feet in height, measuring from the nave floor to the soffit of the arch, and there is a step up to the chancel. Each jamb has two monolithic shafts set in nooks, with cushion cups. The arch, which is in two corresponding orders, is decorated with the ordinary chevron design. Enclosing the arch is a label moulding, enriched with a lozenge pattern. The arch on the chancel side is quite plain.’¹ Now, had the chancel arch been contemporary with the original building, the jambs on which the arch rests would have been built into, or bonded with the side walls. Examination shows that this has not been done, and that the jambs have been erected against the northern and southern walls of the Chapel. There still exists a line of demarcation, at one time filled in with cement, between the jambs and the respective walls. There can be no question, therefore, that the chancel arch is an afterthought, and has been inserted by the same restorer who carried out the alterations on the outer walls; and here, at this point, ‘comparative architecture’ comes into play. Over the arch an ornament, as already mentioned, has been inserted, and we learn from Dr. Thomas Ross, our present authority on architectural research—whose opinion has met with general acceptance—that this style of ornamentation was contemporary with David I., who ascended the throne in the year 1124.² King David

¹ See *Eccl. Arch. of Scot.*, MacGibbon and Ross, i. 230.

² Dr. Thomas Ross, to whom the above has been shown, informs me he is satisfied (1) that the chancel arch was an interpolation of the time of David I., who died in 1153, and (2) that Queen Margaret must have been the founder. Mr. G. Washington Browne, R.S.A., has also perused the above chapter, and made a special examination of the little building. He writes: ‘I quite agree that the chancel arch as at present existing is an interpolation upon the original design of the chapel, and is characteristic of the time of David I. The obvious inference therefrom is that the chapel existed prior to that reign, and the most natural founder, prior to David’s time, would be his mother, Queen Margaret. There is the possibility of an earlier arch marking the division between the nave and the chancel; but of this it must be admitted there is no physical evidence in the side walls as they at present stand.’



ST. MARGARET'S CHAPEL: INTERIOR (1913)

may, therefore, be identified as the restorer of the Chapel, and, as a necessary corollary, it is impossible to doubt that the original founder of the building was his mother, the saintly Margaret.¹ Although the outer walls of the little oratory have suffered, principally at the hands of her son David I., the interior, notwithstanding the intrusion of the chancel arch, has fortunately been preserved to our day in, to a certain extent, the same condition as on that eventful morning in November 1093 when she sought, in agony of soul, the comforts of religion for the last time within its red walls.

Of the precise site of the royal apartments there is no evidence now extant other than the indication by Turgot that they were situated in immediate proximity to the Chapel. Judging from the condition of the undressed masonry, we may conclude that buildings of some kind were attached to the Chapel on the northern front, and that they occupied, if not the whole, at least a portion of what now forms the platform of the Mons Meg Battery. The marriage of Queen Margaret brought about a vast improvement in the amenities, if not also in the luxuries of life, as well as a considerable increase in the *personnel* of the court. The buildings of King Malcolm's palace in the Castle must, therefore, have extended westward so as to include the ground now occupied by a stable and a reservoir. The gateway known as 'Foog's Gate' was only erected in the latter half of the eighteenth century, while the loop-holed wall, extending from 'St. Margaret's yett' westward to the corner of the reservoir and thence southward over Foog's Gate, was built towards the end of the seventeenth century, on the foundations of the ancient citadel walls. The palace was regularly occupied by the successive sovereigns

¹ 'The apse is remarkable from its being circular internally and square externally, an arrangement very uncommon in this country, but of which examples occur in the south of France' (*Cast. and Dom. Arch. of Scot.*, MacGibbon and Ross, i. 462). Is it possible to deduce from this fact that the architect was a Frenchman?

down to the death of Alexander III., and we may assume that the Castle, and not Dunfermline, formed the principal residence of King Malcolm. The palace buildings must have been erected in a style superior to what has been generally understood; and the Castle, at this period, bore no resemblance to the moat-hills, with their palisades of wood and wattle buildings, to be found in other districts of the country. The famous chamber of Queen Margaret was probably the largest and most important apartment in the Castle, and after her death it was utilised for a period of over two hundred years as the 'King's Chamber.' It is almost certain, therefore, that it was in this chamber that the various incidents mentioned by Turgot took place. It was the room in which she and the ladies of her court occupied themselves with the embroidering of the priestly vestments, and in particular it was the scene of the great assembly in which she propounded her views on church reform. Here, also, the crowd of poor people—not three hundred, as Turgot with pious exaggeration states—were fed by the King and Queen. So late as the year 1278, we find it stated in a charter by Alexander III. that John of Strathechyn resigned his lands of Beeth Waldef 'in *our chamber* which is called the *Chamber of the Blessed Queen Margaret*.'

'John of Strathechyn, on the Saturday following the feast of St. Dunstan, the Archbishop, in the month of May in the year of grace one thousand two hundred and seventy eight, at the Castle of the Maidens of Edinburgh, in *our chamber which is called the chamber of the blessed Queen Margaret*, by staff and baton for himself and his heirs rendered, resigned, and quitclaimed, and for ever renounced to us, with all right and claim which he had or could have in these lands.'¹

¹ *Reg. de Dumfer.*, No. 87. The words *castrum* or *castellum puellarum* are a free translation into monkish Latin of the Celtic words 'May-din,' a fort, and were first applied to the Castle of Edinburgh in the reign of David I. The designation 'Castle of the Maidens' has always been a source of misunderstanding (cf. *Early Scottish Charters*, Lawrie, p. 403). Several other places, in England as well as in Scotland, have been so designed.

In the month of July 1291, Edward I. of England, in his character of Lord Paramount of Scotland, made a royal progress through the eastern portion of the country as far north as St. Andrews, and on Tuesday the 10th he spent a night in the royal apartments of the Castle of Edinburgh. Not content with placing an English officer in charge of the Castle, he fortified his position with the oaths of allegiance by the Scottish nobility and clergy. On 3rd July 1292 Friar Alexander, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland, and Friar Brian, Preceptor of the Scottish Knights of the Temple, appeared in the 'chamber of the said lord the King'—*i.e.* Queen Margaret's chamber—in the Castle of the Maidens, and took the oath of fealty to King Edward; while, on the same day, four others—John, Abbot of Newbattle, Radulph, Master of the Hospital of Soltre, William, Master of the House of Balancryf, and Alicia, Prioress of Hadyngrove—swore allegiance to the English king in the little Chapel of St. Margaret. Five days later, the oath was administered in the Chapel—*in capella Castri Puellarum*—to Adam, Abbot of Holyrood, and one Richard Fresel.¹

The palace buildings, including the chamber of Queen Margaret, were finally destroyed after the capture of the Castle by Ranulph, Earl of Moray, in March 1314. On this occasion, with the view of providing no possible cover for the English invader, every building on the Castle rock, *with the exception of St. Margaret's Chapel*, was levelled to the ground.

VI

The 'noble' church of the Holy Trinity which Margaret had founded at Dunfermline, and in which both she and her husband, Malcolm III., were buried, became thereby sanctified as the royal place of sepulture. Thither some canons of the

¹ *Foedera*, orig. ed., ii. pp. 569, 571.

Order of St. Benedict were brought from Canterbury and established in 1124, and the indefatigable King David commenced, as an addition to the church of his parents, the erection of the magnificent Norman nave which, happily, still forms one of the glories of our country. In 1199 King William the Lion made preparations for the invasion of England, but becoming oppressed with dire forebodings of the result of this warlike act, he proceeded to Dunfermline, where he passed the night at the tomb of Queen Margaret. His vigil, says Hoveden, was rewarded by a warning in a dream not to carry out his projected invasion, and, next day, he accordingly abandoned the expedition and dispersed his troops.¹ With the advance of years, the saintliness of the Queen seems to have become even more apparent. A petition for her canonisation was, therefore, presented to the Pope by King Alexander II., and its successful issue can be traced in the series of Bulls² which were issued from the Papal Chancery :—

27 July 1246. Bull by Innocent IV. narrating that supplication had been made by Alexander II., King of Scotland, that ‘seeing the body of Margaret Queen of Scots, of renowned memory, glistens with numberless miracles, we should cause her to be numbered in the catalogue of the Saints.’ The Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane are, therefore, instructed to inquire into the truth ‘of her life and merits and as to these miracles.’

13 August 1246. Bull by Innocent IV. narrating that although the Bishops had reported, ‘because neither the things themselves nor the names of the witnesses received were transmitted to us, we have been unable to consent to this thing at the request of the said King

¹ Anderson, p. 322 ; Robertson's *Early Kings*, i. 416 ; Hoveden, *Chronica*, iv. 100.

² *Reg. de Dunfermline*, Nos. 281, 285, 290, 291.

as we must not make haste in such matters.' He instructs a further report to be made.

Three years later, his Holiness finally granted the petition for Margaret's canonisation in a Bull addressed to the Abbot of Dunfermline.¹

16 September 1249. Bull by Innocent iv. to Abbot of Dunfermline. 'Readily do we agree to your petitions on account of the merits of your devotion, and we listen favourably to your petitions so far as it is possible for us in the sight of God. When, therefore, our beloved son and titular priest, the Cardinal of St. Sabine, to whom we committed the examination of the inquiry concerning the life and miracles of Margaret Queen of Scots of blessed memory, wrote upon this same business to our venerable brother the Bishop of St. Andrews, we, inclined to your prayers, lest any doubt should arise from anything which the said Cardinal wrote that the same proceeded from our will and good pleasure, have caused these letters to be granted to you in witness thereof.'

Lastly, by a Bull dated 21 September 1249, his Holiness declared that, as it is 'fitting that the Church of the Monastery of Dunfermline of the Order of St. Benedict in the Diocese of St. Andrews should be more frequented with greater honours, We mercifully remit to all true penitents and those coming to confession who shall annually and reverently visit the said church on the Feast of St. Margaret by the mercy of Almighty God and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul entrusted to us, forty days of the penances enjoined upon them for every year.' Accordingly, on the 19th of June 1250, the official act of canonisation was carried

¹ This office was occupied by Friar Robert, who became Lord Chamberlain of Scotland. In 1245 he obtained permission from the Pope to 'use the mitre and ring and other priestly vestments.'—*Ibid.*, No. 279.

out with due solemnity in presence of the boy king, Alexander III., the Queen Mother, and a crowd of clergy and nobility of the country.¹ The remains of the saintly Queen were taken out of the stone monument in which they had lain for more than a century and a half, and enclosed amid every sign of devotion in a wooden shrine set with gold and precious stones. Wyntoun, who celebrates the occasion with a long poem, tells us that they were unable to lift her body until they had previously removed the remains of her lord, Malcolm III., to the choir where the shrine had been placed :—

With all thare powere and thare slycht
 Her body to rays thai had na mycht,
 Na lyft hyr anys owt of that plas,
 Quhare scho that tyme lyand was,
 For all thare devotyownis,
 Prayeris and gret orysownis,
 That the persownys gadryd there
 Did on devot manere ;
 Quhyll fyrst thai tuk upe the body
 Of hyr lord that lay thare-by
 And bare it bene into the quere.
 Lystly syne on fayre manere
 Hyr cors thai tuk up and bare ben,
 And thame enteryd togyddyr then.
 Swa trowyd thai all than gadryd thare
 Quhat honoure til hyr lord scho bare.
 Swa, this myrakil to record.
 Notis gret reverens dwne til hyr lord ;
 As scho oysyd in hyr lyf,
 Quhen scho wes hys spousyd wyf.

¹ Dempster asserts that William de Bondington, who became Bishop of Glasgow in 1232, wrote an account of the translation of the relics of St. Margaret and her husband ; but this statement may be treated as inaccurate. Dempster, even by Catholics, is regarded as a 'suspected author.' He had a fascinating, although absurd, trick of making our old Scottish clergy appear as writers of learned works, the names of which were probably invented by himself ! Among these we may place Bishop Bondington's alleged writing.

The miraculous incidents of that extraordinary day are narrated at even greater length by Fordun. He gravely assures us that, when the ground was opened for the purpose of removing the Queen's body from its stone tomb, there arose so strong and agreeable a perfume 'that the whole of the sanctuary was thought to be sprinkled with painter's colours and the scent of springing flowers.' The body was placed in a wooden feretory, and carried by the bishops and abbots amid the chanting of divine praise towards its appointed place in the then recently restored choir. On reaching the entrance to the chancel, opposite to the place where her husband, King Malcolm, lay under a groined ceiling at the north end of the nave, the arms of the bearers became suddenly benumbed, and they found themselves unable to proceed further. Laying down their burden, the services of stronger men were enlisted, but all to no purpose. The voice of a bystander, divinely inspired, was then heard claiming the bestowal of similar honours on the remains of King Malcolm. The suggestion met with acceptance, and 'King Alexander, his lineal descendant, with associates chosen for this purpose, without either force or impediment, raised aloft the shrine filled with the King's bones, along with the elevation of the coffer of the relics of the Queen,' and deposited them, each in a sarcophagus, in the mausoleum previously prepared. Thirteen years later, on 2nd October 1263, King Alexander routed the invading hosts of the hardy Norsemen at the momentous battle of Largs; and, according to a legend preserved by Bower, the continuator of Fordun, the Scots were greatly assisted in the fight by a 'lofty and blooming matron in royal attire, leading in her right hand a noble knight, refulgent in arms, wearing a crown upon his head, and followed by three heroic warriors, like armed and like crowned'¹—an illustrious contingent, in whom it is easy to recognise the saintly 'patroness of Scotland,' her consort,

¹ ii. p. 97. Dr. Joseph Robertson's translation.

and her three royal sons, Edgar, Alexander I., and David I. The ghostly occupants of the royal tombs at Dunfermline Abbey had apparently been roused from their eternal slumbers by the imminence of the threatening dangers to the State! Alexander was the last, in the direct line, of the descendants of Queen Margaret, and his sudden death in 1286 terminated a long period of peace and prosperity, that remained without parallel in our subsequent history until after the Union of 1707.

VII

During the night of 14th March 1314,¹ the Castle of Edinburgh was brilliantly captured by escalade, 'at the highest part of the rock where he'—the English governor—'suspected no danger,'² by the famous Ranulph, Earl of Moray, and, in terms of Bruce's policy, Moray at once proceeded to destroy all the buildings in the Castle with the exception of the little Chapel of St. Margaret, which was not interfered with. It was not a case merely of dismantlement, but of absolute destruction, so as to prevent the re-occupation of the Castle by the English.³

That the little Chapel alone should have been intentionally saved from destruction on this occasion is a remarkable fact, and points to a belief in the minds of the Scottish leaders that the little oratory was the actual building associated so closely with the death of the saintly Queen Margaret. In the story of 'The Brus, writ by Master Johne Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen,' there appears an account, written c. 1375, of Ranulph's successful escalade of the Castle. The assaulting party was under the leadership of one William Francis, and

¹ Not 1312 or 1313 as sometimes stated.

² *Scalacronica*, Maxwell, p. 51.

³ An unknown English chronicler of the time of Edward III. states that *castrumque ab olim tam famosum usque ad solum funditus est prostratum* (Stevenson's *Illustrations*, p. 6); but the official report by the English castellan of 1335—to be afterwards referred to—is conclusive.

the successful issue of the brilliant achievement had, nearly two centuries earlier, the Archdeacon alleges, been revealed to St. Margaret herself. The Queen had recorded her vision in the shape of a drawing, portrayed on the walls of her oratory, of a man attempting, by means of a ladder, to take the Castle by surprise; while, over the figure of the man, was written the legend 'Gardiz vous de francois.' The story may be mythical, and the legend Norman-French of the fourteenth century; but it brings into prominence the Archdeacon's belief in the identity of the Chapel of his day with that of the time of St. Margaret:—

I hard neur in na tyme gane
 Quhar castell wes so stoutly tane
 And of this takyng that I meyne
 Sanct Margaret, the gud haly queyne
 Vist in hir tyme, throw reveling
 Of him that knawis and wat all thing.
 Tharfor, in stede of propheseye,
 Scho left ane takyne richt ioly;
 That is, that scho in hir chapell
 Gert weill be portrait ane castell
 A leddir up to the wall standand
 And a man thar-on clymande,
 And wrat owth him, as old men sayis,
 In Franch: "gardiz vous de francois."
 And for this word scho gert writ swa,
 Men wend the Franch men suld it ta.
 Bot, for Francois hattyn wes he,
 That swa clam wp in preuate
 Scho wrat that as in prophesey
 And it fell eftirward suthly
 Richt as scho said; for tane it wes
 And Francois led thame up that place.¹

Another incident of even greater importance falls here to be mentioned. The Castle remained uninhabited and in

¹ *The Brus*, Barbour, Scot. Text Soc., i. 266.

this wrecked condition down to the end of the year 1335. Now, King Robert the Bruce of immortal memory died of leprosy on 7th June 1329, and on his deathbed his mind seems to have reverted to the story of the pious St. Margaret and her lonely Chapel on the desolate Castle rock. He issued orders for its repair, and a sum of £40 Scots was allocated for that purpose, of which one-half had been paid up to 12th November 1329¹—To Sir John Jordan, in part payment of £40 due to him by the King for building of the Royal Chapel within the Castle £6 : 13 : 4d. Scots, there being thus paid to him £20 Scots.² The Chapel seems naturally to have suffered from the weather as well as from neglect; but it is impossible to avoid recognising Bruce's compelling reason for attempting to restore a chapel perched, amid a scene of desolation, upon an uninhabited rock. Sir John Jordan would be the royal chaplain appointed by Bruce, and his services in the completion of the work evidently ceased after Bruce's death, owing to the disturbed condition of the country. It was left to the English castellans to complete the work. In the beginning of the month of September 1335, King Edward III. of England left Perth, and on the 10th he reached Edinburgh, where he remained for a week. His military eye at once recognised the commanding situation of the Castle rock, and he issued orders for the rebuilding of the fortifications. Accordingly, Sir Thomas Roscelin with a force of knights, men-at-arms, and archers marched up to the Castle and took formal possession.³ He only held office for a period of six weeks, and in an Indenture between him and his successor, Sir John Stirling, an officer of great distinction, it is stated that there is 'no dwelling within said Castle save a Chapel a little unroofed, a little pentice above the Chapel, and a new

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, i. 239. Bruce also gifted the patronage of the church of Inverkeithing for the maintenance of a light in front of St. Margaret's shrine.—*Reg. de Dunferm.*, No. 346.

² The word 'building,' of course, simply means 'repair'—a usual mode of speech in these records. The present condition of the Chapel proves that it was not rebuilt at this date.

³ Bain, iii., No. 1186.

stable quite unroofed except about a quarter.'¹ From this precise statement we can appreciate the drastic manner in which Moray had carried out the work of destruction. From Stirling's accounts for the following year we learn that in the month of June a payment was made to Master John the glazier for furnishing four—probably stained glass—windows to Saint Margaret's Chapel.² This is the earliest identification by name of the little building on record, and we can gather that Stirling had also repaired the roof.

His accounts also show us that among the ruins in the Castle were those of a 'great church' which he rebuilt and converted into a granary for the use of the garrison.³ It is more than probable that this was the church in the Castle granted by David I. to the monks of Holyrood. The charter itself is not extant; but there is a Charter of Confirmation, dated *circa* 1130, in which Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, gives his episcopal blessing and announces that he, with the consent of his chapter, has confirmed all the grants which King David made in alms to the Church of Holyrood, including, *inter alia*, the Church of the Castle—*ecclesiam de Castello*.⁴ The gift is repeated in the great charter by David to Holyrood, c. 1143-7, which is now preserved in the City archives, and the explanation is that, for a few years before the foundation of Holyrood in 1128, the canons had lived in the Castle.⁵ There were no revenues attached by David to this church; and, although it is possible that the monks may have continued for some time after their settlement at Holyrood to send up a *locum tenens* to serve the cure, there is no evidence that they took any further interest in the church.

Thirty years afterwards, in 1366, when the English had been

¹ Bain, iii. 216.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 355.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 351, 353.

⁴ The deed, which has been printed in the Bannatyne Club edition of the *Holyrood Charters*, p. 7, No. 2, is preserved in the Panmure Charter Chest.

⁵ Even so late as the year 1237, Holyrood is, owing to its old connection with the Castle, described as the monastery of Sancte Crucis de Castro Puellarum.—*Liber Cart. Sancte Crucis*, pp. 53-4.

permanently ousted from the Castle, we find a notice in the *Rolls*¹ of a payment 'to the chaplain celebrating in the reconstructed chapel of St. Mary within the Castle £10, to be uplifted from the fermes of the burgh of Edinburgh.'² The 'great church' which Stirling had converted into a granary was, therefore, at this date restored to its original sacred purposes. The payment of the £10 annuity is noted in the *Rolls* down to the year 1388; but those for the year 1380 record the delivery by Sir John Lyon, Lord Glammys, Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, of the sum of £707, 8s. 4d. to John Gray and John Rollok to be kept in custody within the Castle of Edinburgh in the *place above the Chapel of St. Margaret* assigned to them for this purpose by the Chamberlain:—

'And so he'—Lord Glammys—'owes £707 : 8 : 4, which sum he has delivered to John Gray and John Rollok to be kept within the Castle of Edinburgh in the place above the Chapel of St. Margaret appointed

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. 246.

² There has been much discussion regarding this church of St. Mary. The words *de novo constructa* have been translated as 'newly built,' and applied to a new church erected on some unknown part of the Castle. The meaning of the phrase is obvious—'constructed of new,' or reconstructed—and can only refer to the church which Stirling converted into a granary, and which was now reconverted or reconstructed into a church. St. Mary was probably the name of the original church before its demolition by Moray in 1314. It has even been suggested that this church was erected on a lower portion of the rock and in connection with King David's Tower; but the building of that tower was only commenced in 1367, and took twelve years to complete. Even the words '*infra castrum*' (*castellum*) have been held to mean 'beneath the castle,' and that the church was situated on the ground floor of King David's Tower. The Latin word *intra* became corrupted in Italy somewhere about the tenth century into *infra*, and, thereafter, the use of the latter seems to have become general throughout Europe. Hence in mediæval Latin *infra* in such cases means *within* and not *beneath*. Cf. Ducange.

Sir Daniel Wilson has inserted in his *Memorials* a drawing of the Castle taken from 'a map engraved in 1575,' which has been the cause of much misunderstanding. In reality, as will readily be recognised, it is an imaginary picture drawn as an illustration to a book published at Paris in 1575. Several reprints of it are to be seen in the Watson Collection in the National Gallery in Queen Street. The Castle is represented as furnished with no fewer than twelve towers, and a few trees, but with no church or chapel of any kind. The editor of the *Exchequer Rolls* and others, in their comments, have, unfortunately, relied on this engraving as a truthful representation of the Castle as at that date,

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to them by the Chamberlain for this purpose by letters of our lord, the King, under his signet directed to the said John and John, and shown upon accounting.’¹

In 1389 King Robert II., by charter dated 24th February, appointed Sir Geoffrey Lyttistar to be chaplain in St. Margaret’s Chapel, at a stipend of £8 per annum :—

‘ Know ye that we for the salvation of our soul and the soul of our late dearest consort, Eupham, Queen of Scotland, also of the souls of Robert and David of revered memory, our late grandfather and uncle, Kings of Scotland, and also the souls of all our predecessors and successors, kings of Scotland, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, have given, granted, and by this our present Charter confirmed to God and the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Margaret, the Queen, and to Geoffrey Lyttistar, the chaplain officiating in the Chapel of the said St. Margaret, the Queen, situated in our Castle of Edinburgh, and his successors officiating there in all time coming, the presentation of whom shall belong to us and our heirs, kings of Scotland, in all time coming, eight pounds sterling yearly, to be uplifted from our great customs of our burgh of Edinburgh by the hands of our customars of the great custom thereof who shall be for the time, at the two usual annual terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas in winter by equal portions : to be had and held and uplifted by the said Geoffrey during the whole term of his life and by his successors our chaplains officiating in the said Chapel in time coming as said is with all and sundry liberties, commodities and easements as freely and quietly fully entirely and honourably as any chaplainry has been founded within our realm by us or our predecessors, kings of Scotland.’

The provision for the maintenance of the chaplains may be considered, according to the value of money in those days, as liberal ; but on 3rd December 1390, his son and successor, Robert III., in a confirmation of the above charter, transferred Geoffrey and his annuity to the Church of St. Mary previously referred to, and suppressed altogether the annuity of £10 hitherto paid to the chaplain of that church—

which Charter donation and grant contained in the same we approve,

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, iii. 656.

ratify, and for ourselves and our heirs, as is aforesaid, for ever confirm in all its points and articles, conditions, manners and circumstances whatsoever, in form likewise and effect in all and by all, saving our service ; excepting only that where the said Geoffrey and his successors foresaid are bound to officiate in the Chapel of St. Margaret the Queen by the Charter of the said lord our progenitor, we will that the foresaid Geoffrey and his successors aforesaid shall be bound to officiate in time coming in the Chapel of St Mary of our Castle foresaid.' ¹

The reason for the change was that by this time the Scottish Court had discovered that the Castle was a safe, but somewhat inconveniently situated, place of residence, and in its absence, as the Chapel of St. Margaret was kept solely for royalty, the services of a special chaplain were rendered unnecessary. The one chaplain, therefore, was made to serve both cures, and in the *Rolls* and the *Register of the Privy Seal* he is sometimes designated indifferently as the chaplain ministering in St. Margaret's, or in St. Mary's, or simply 'in the Castle of Edinburgh.' In 1446 the stipend of Ninian Spot, the 'chaplain ministering in the chapel of the blessed Margaret,' was increased through the grace of the King to £10, and this sum seems to have been paid down to the time of the Reformation. Spot was succeeded in 1452, as chaplain, by Sir John Burnate, who officiated until 1464, when Sir John Rinde became chaplain of the chapel of the blessed Queen Margaret. Rinde demitted office on account of age in the year 1506, and his successor, John Lamb, having died three years later, was succeeded by a Master James Haswell, who occupied the post for twenty years, when he was promoted to be Prior of Bewling (Bowling). His successor as chaplain to St. Margaret's was Sir John Crammy, who was appointed in January 1529.² In 1467 a chalice and vestment were provided for the royal chapel in the Castle, but various other entries in the *Rolls* and *Treasurer's Accounts*

¹ *Great Seal*, new ed., i. 322-3.

² See *Exchequer Rolls and Register of the Privy Seal*, i. 1261, 1966, 4045.

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relating to repairs in the church in the Castle can only refer to the Chapel of St. Mary, and not to that of St. Margaret. The following notices of the appointments of Crammy's successors as chaplains in St. Margaret's Chapel down to the Reformation are taken from the *MS. Register of the Privy Seal* :—

1529, Nov. 28. Gift to Sir David Young, curate of Edinburgh, of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Margaret, Queen, situated within the Castle of Edinburgh, when the same shall happen to vaik by resignation or demission of Sir John Crammy, present chaplain and possessor thereof, on account of the exchange of the said chaplainry with the chaplainry of the altar of St. Duthac in the Collegiate Kirk of Edinburgh. (Vol. 8, fol. 151.)

1529-30, March 2. Gift to Sir John Leirmonth of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Margaret within the Castle of Edinburgh when the same shall vaik by resignation or demission of Sir John Crammy, present chaplain and possessor thereof. (Vol. 8, fol. 152.)

1530, April 24. Gift to Sir David Young, chaplain, of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Margaret situated within the Castle of Edinburgh, when the same shall happen to vaik by the resignation, demission or otherwise of Sir John Leirmonth, now chaplain and possessor thereof, on account of the exchange of the said chaplainry with the chaplainry of the altar of St. Duthac in St. Giles Cathedral. (Vol. 8, fol. 177.)

1549-50, March 30. Gift to Sir Laurence Watsoun of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Margaret in the Castle of Edinburgh at the presentation of the Queen to whom the full right of patronage belongs, now vacant, or when the same shall happen to vaik by resignation or demission of Sir David Young, present chaplain and possessor thereof. (Vol. 22, fol. 95.)

1557, July 6. Gift to Sir Laurence Tod, chaplain, of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Margaret situated within the Castle (of Edinburgh) now vacant by the demission of Sir Laurence Watson, last chaplain and possessor thereof, and at the presentation of the Queen having the full right thereof ; to be held by the said Sir Laurence Tod during life without recal, with all the fruits and pertinents thereof, he or his substitute performing the duties incumbent on the said office according to the tenor of the foundation thereof ; with warrant therein

to the customers of the great customs of the burgh of Edinburgh to make free payment to him of his fee as it was accustomed to be paid before to the said Sir Laurence Watson or his predecessors. (Vol. 28, fol. 79.)

1559, June 22. Gift to Sir Andrew Drysdale, chaplain, of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Margaret within the Castle of Edinburgh, now vacant by the omission (demission) of Sir Laurence Tod, last chaplain and possessor thereof; to be held by him as above for life so long as he performs the duties of his office; with warrant for payment as above. (Vol. 29, fol. 78.)

VIII

The records furnish another striking illustration of the strong hold that the personality of St. Margaret maintained over the imagination of her royal descendants. Her shirt—the *camisia Beate Margarete Regine*, or, as it was termed in the vernacular, Sanct Margaretis Sark—was kept beside her shrine at Dunfermline, and, down to the Reformation, it was customary for the Queens of Scotland to clothe themselves in it during their hour of travail. Queen Mary of Gueldres donned the garment during her confinement¹ in 1451 at the birth of James III.;² while, on 10th March 1512, Luke of the Wardrobe was sent to Dunfermline to ‘feche Sanct Margaretis Sark’ to Margaret, Queen of James IV., and a month later the prince who succeeded to the throne as James V. was born at Linlithgow.³ It is certainly a remarkable fact that, among all the saints in the Roman hagiology,

¹ On the removal of her remains from Trinity College Church to Holyrood in 1847, the medical autopsy showed that she was a woman of extreme delicacy of constitution, and the *Rolls* disclose payments to three medical attendants, one of whom, a foreigner, she evidently brought with her to this country. Another was Friar Crannok, warden of the Edinburgh Grey Friars.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, v. 447-512.

³ ‘Item, to Luke of the Wardrop, to feche Sanct Margaretis sark to the Qwene, viijs. —*Lord Treasurer’s Accounts*, iv. 334.

The shirt of the Bruce was carefully preserved in the royal wardrobe of the Castle down to the sixteenth century; but of it there is no connecting legend. At the close

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Queen Margaret stands alone¹ as the happy mother of a large family, who reared sons and daughters to her credit, and died surrounded by her weeping children. She became, in the eyes of the Scots, the saintly patroness of motherhood, and her celebrated well at Restalrig—the fifteenth-century stonework of which was removed to the King's Park in 1859—was for many centuries the favourite resort of anxious but childless wives. In his denunciation of superstitious pilgrimages Sir David Lyndsay complains that—

‘ Some wyfes Sanct Margaret doith exhort
Into thair birth thame to support.’²

Of the fountain in West Princes Street Gardens, also known as St. Margaret's, and for the protection of which the Well-house Tower was erected in 1362, no legend of a similar nature seems to have survived. It was a little flowing stream of pure water, and down to the year 1821 was utilised for drinking purposes for the supply of the garrison, in supplement of the ancient draw-well of the Castle. The earliest notice of this fountain appears in a charter by David I. in favour of the Church of St. Cuthbert, dated *circa* 1127, in which he conveys the land under the Castle from the fountain which rises close to the corner of the King's Garden, and along the road leading to the church.³ It was here, in this royal garden, beside the pellucid waters of the well which was afterwards to bear her name, that Queen Margaret, in the company of her husband and children, spent many a sunny afternoon under the shade of the rugged old Castle rock.

of the seventh century, the shirt in which St. Columba died was utilised by the Celtic monks to bring down rain upon their cornfields (Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, pp. 175, 321-3); while the Earl of Tain, who was slain at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, was found to have wrapped himself in the holy shirt of St. Duthac. The shirt was restored by the English to its shrine at Tain (*John Major's History*, Constable, p. 273).

¹ Sir Daniel Wilson, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi. 293.

² *The Monarchie.*

³ *Holyrood Charters*, No. 3.

From the *Treasurer's Accounts* it appears that in 1473 Sir John Rinde, the chaplain of St. Margaret's, received the sum of sixteen shillings and sixpence to 'pay for a pres kist to the chapell to keip the graith,' and that certain payments were made for the renovation of the 'chapell graith.'

Item, for making of three albis, thre amytis, ¹ and a towale	
for the hie alter	vjs.
Item, for mess bred for the hale zere	xvs.
Item, for a pund of sens (incense)	iiijs.
Item, for 1 lib. of Birgis threde (Bruges thread) to mend	
the vestamentis	ijs. vjd.
Item, for the mending a caip	iijs.

Then follows the payment of eighteen pence for 'the cariagis of the chapell grath on Sanct Margretis day fra the Abbay to the Castell, and (back) to the Abbay,' and, further, that there was

gevin to the King and the Qwene to offir in the Castell on	
Sanct Margretis day a Franche croune and half a ross	
(rose) noble extendand to	xxvijs. vjd. ²

The King and Queen above referred to were, of course, James III. and his wife, Margaret of Denmark. Keeping in view the defective condition of our records, this marks the earliest appearance of a sovereign in St. Margaret's Chapel on her saint day; but the Accounts for the reign of their son, James IV., are more complete, and they prove that it was his practice to attend divine service in the chapel not only on St. Margaret's Day—the 19th June—but that he also appeared in the Castle on the anniversary of her death, the 16th November, which day is also noted as St. Margaret's Day. On these occasions, according to the usages of the Church, he advanced to the chancel and personally placed his oblation of fourteen shillings in the hands of the priest or

¹ Priestly vestments worn at Mass.

² *Lord Treasurer's Accounts*, i. 65.

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celebrant. It will be noticed that on these days he also placed oblations at 'St. Margaret's licht' in St. Giles as well as at another of her 'lights'—probably at Holyrood Abbey:—

21 July 1497. To the Kingis offerand on Sanct Margretis day (in the Castel)	xiiijs.
25 Nov. 1497. To the Kingis offerand in the Castel on Sanct Margretis day	xiiijs.
19 June 1501. To the Kingis offerand on Sanct Margretis bred	xiiijs.
19 June 1502. Sanct Margretis day, to the Kingis offerand in the Castell	xiiijs.
16 Nov. 1503. To the Kingis offerand on Sanct Margretis bred	ixs.
Samyn day to the Kingis offerand in Sanct Mergretis chapell in the castell	xiiijs.
16 Nov. 1504. Sanct Margretis day to the Kingis offerand in Sanct Margretis chapell in the castell of Edinr.	xiiijs.
17 June 1506. Kingis offerand in Sanct Margreitis Chapell of the Castell	xiiijs.
20 July 1506. Kings offerand at Sanct Margreitis altar	xiiijs.
19 June 1507. Kings offerand at Sanct Mergreitis altar	xiiijs.
19 June 1508. Kings offerand in the Castell	xiiijs.
16 Nov. 1511. Offerit to Sanct Margaretis licht	xiiijs.
19 June 1512. Sanct Margaretis day, in Edinburgh offerit to her licht and in the Castele	xxiiijs.
Item, offerit to Sanct Margaretis licht in Sanct Gelis Kirk	xiiijs.
20 July 1512. Sanct Margaretis day, offerit to hir licht	xiiijs.

The above represent the only notices appearing in the fragments of the records of the royal expenditure now extant; but it is possible to assume generally that, down to this date, it was the usual custom of our sovereigns to attend Mass in the old chapel on St. Margaret's Day. The Abbey Church of Dunfermline, where her body was enshrined, ought, according

to the universal custom in Catholic countries, to have been regarded as supreme in holiness, and thither all her worshippers ought, under the forty days' indulgence granted by his Holiness, Pope Innocent IV., to have betaken themselves. There is no mention in our records of any royal pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Margaret at Dunfermline on her Saint day; and the action of James III. and James IV. evinces a strong spirit of veneration towards the little oratory in the Castle, and a continued belief in its identity as the original chapel of the saintly Queen. The Chapel was still, as the Bruce had termed it, the 'royal chapel in the Castle,' and was kept exclusively for the use of the royal family.

James IV.'s last recorded appearance in the Chapel was on 19th June 1512. A week previously, he had visited the Castle and watched the founding of one of his beloved guns. It was the possession of these weapons, and of his warships, that had the effect of inflaming James's mind with at least the feeling, if not the lust, for military power, and thereby unwittingly brought about the calamitous disaster at Flodden. In the summer of the following year he was busily engaged in the preparations for the campaign, and the Accounts tell us that banners were made of blue taffety, four ells long, for the two Scottish saints, St. Andrew and St. Margaret of Scotland, a third banner for the King of red taffety also four ells in length, and a royal standard of red taffety of three ells. All the banners and the standard were heavily fringed, and for their protection from the weather, covers were provided made of 'basand skinnis,' that is, of sheepskins tanned like Spanish leather. Before the work could be properly completed, however, James, with characteristic impatience, rode off to the front to look after his guns, leaving a man behind 'to byde on the standartis to bring thaim with him in haist that nycht that the Kingis grace departit furth of Edinburgh.'¹ In the Advocates' Library there is preserved

¹ *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv. 521.

an ancient heraldic manuscript emblazoned in 1542 by Sir David Lyndsay of The Mount, 'Lyon King of Armes,'¹ in which the arms of St. Margaret appear. They are here reproduced in colour, and are probably the same as those emblazoned by James IV. on his banner. Sir David describes them as

'ye armys of ye noble princes Sanct Margaret, Qweyn of Scotland, dochter to Edward, prince and heretour to Ingland, and of Agatha, dochter to Solomone, King of Ungarie, and spouss to ye rycht noble prince King Malcum Canmor, to quhome sche bair vi soneis, Eduard, Edmound, Etheldreid, Edgar, Alexr. and David callit Sanctus y^t succedit to ye croune, and twa dochteris, Mauld spousit w^t Hery Beauclerk, King of Ingland, and Mary spousit w^t Eustachius erle of Bollonye.'

Of course, the arms attributed to Queen Margaret are quite mythical, as heraldry was unknown in her day. In the thirteenth century certain arms, heraldically blazoned as 'azure, a cross patonce between five martlets Or,'² were invented by the English heralds as those of her grand-uncle Edward the Confessor, and were assigned to Edgar Atheling and the other Saxon princes. It is understood they were suggested by a coin of that English monarch, which bears a plain cross between four radiating doves. In the MS. of Sir David Lyndsay only four martlets are shown. The martlet is a heraldic bird resembling a martin or swallow without feet,

¹ Published in 1878, with Dr. David Laing as editor.

² This coat was impaled by Richard II. in the place of honour—the dexter side—with his own hereditary arms. It was also borne by his kinsmen the Dukes of Surrey, Kent, and Norfolk. It appears on one of the three royal banners of England in the Roll of the knights who were present at the siege of Caerlaverock Castle in the year 1300 (*Woodward's Heraldry*, ii. 308). The cross *patonce* is the most beautiful form of cross used in heraldry. It was the marriage of Maud (Matilda), the daughter of Queen Margaret and Malcolm, that united the Norman royal family with that of the Saxon, Edward the Confessor.

On the Great Seal of England of James I., the banner held by the sinister supporter has the same arms.

but furnished with two tufts of feathers under the body.¹ The matrices of the cokete² and counter seals of the Regality



Cokete Seal of Regality Court of the Abbey of Dunfermline granted by Bruce c. 1322.

Court of the Abbey of Dunfermline, now preserved in the Advocates' Library, date back to the reign of Robert the Bruce. The design of the cokete seal shows a full-length figure of St. Margaret wearing an open crown of three points, and holding in her right hand a sceptre, and a book in her left. At the dexter side is a shield bearing the arms of Scotland, and at the sinister another with the paternal arms

of the Queen—those of Edward the Confessor, a cross *patonce* between five martlets.

IX

During the residence in the Castle of the boy king, James v., we may presume that the little Chapel would once more be opened for the celebration of divine service; but down to the death of Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Regent, no information other than the appointments of the successive chaplains, and the payment of their salaries, can be gleaned from the records as now extant.

From her undoubted administrative and diplomatic skill, the Queen-Regent, mother of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, became the leading personality in Scottish history, particularly

¹ This is usually the modern mark of cadency for a fourth son.

² See charter by Bruce, dated 10th July 1322, in favour of the Magistrates of Bruges regarding the use of this Cokete Seal (*Reg. de Dunfermline*, No. 361, p. 246); Laing's *Scottish Seals*, i. 215.

after the murder of Cardinal Beaton in 1546. She proved herself the mainstay of the Scots during those savage and ruthless incursions of the English, which continued without intermission down to the fall of the Protector, the Earl of Somerset, in 1549; and the native courage of the woman is seen in a correspondence with her brother, the Duke of Guise. 'It is true,' she said, 'I have found it strange, being happy to have so many brothers, that I have never been visited by one since I have the enemy on my arms.¹ I make you judge. Has one of you offered to assist me with a penny (denier) in all my necessities?' She believes that her brother does not desire her place; it is none the less at his disposal for all the pleasure she has of it. She had melted down all her own table plate for the support of her French auxiliaries, and *had even pledged her own finger rings* and everything of value; so that she was out of patience, because there scarcely remained sufficient plenishing for the service of her household.²

The excitement of the summer of the year 1559, when so many of the religious houses were destroyed or 'purified' by the rascal multitude, was followed in the autumn by a period of quiescence. Little response was made to the call by the Lords of the Congregation for men and supplies to expel the French out of Leith, which they had strongly fortified; but John Knox, at this juncture in the progress of his cause, once more displayed his rare political sagacity. He brought pressure to bear upon the English advisers, and ultimately, in the beginning of the year 1560, Cecil persuaded his hesitating mistress, Queen Elizabeth, to take the decisive step and furnish substantial military assistance to the reformers. The Queen-Dowager, recognising the danger of her position, removed all her personal possessions to the Castle,³ and on 1st April she also took up her abode there.

¹ 'Depuis le temps que j'ay l'ennemy sur les bras.'

² *Memoirs, Journaux de Duc de Guise*, pp. 32-6.

³ *Treasurer's Accounts*, 26th January 1559-60.

During the preceding six months she had been seriously indisposed, and the French king and her brother, the Duke of Guise, had sent special messengers of inquiry to Scotland.¹ On the 2nd of April an English force crossed the Border, and, after uniting at Prestonpans with the feudal levies of the reforming Lords, took up a position on the southern and south-eastern sides of Leith. During the progress of the siege the illness of the Regent developed, and on the 29th she wrote that one of her legs had commenced to swell with dropsy—‘you know there are but three days for the dropsy in this country.’² The poor Queen lay on her bed torn between anxiety and mortal sickness, and, on May 10, she sought a conference with the Lords Huntly and Glencairn. She said she was desirous to remove the French out of the country, and to avoid the spilling of Christian blood. Lord James, afterwards the Earl of Moray, along with Ruthven, Lethington, and the Master of Maxwell, were sent to her; but the negotiations were, for the time, suspended, owing to the refusal of the reformers to permit the Queen to consult her French advisers. The Lords saw that her sickness was mortal, and several made repeated visits of sympathy to the Castle. On the 8th of June the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl Marischal, and Lord James reported that they found the Queen ‘worse than she was yesterdaie,’ that her tongue and wits fail her, and ‘she her self withowte hope of lyf, her mynde well dysposed to God, and wyllinge to here anie thyng that is well spoken. She is also well content to speake with Mr. Wyllockes,’³ one of the best of Knox’s coadjutors, ‘who is presently with her.’ At her request several of the Lords remained with her until the hour of her ‘departeur.’ Keith tells us that she asked pardon of all those whom she had in any manner of way offended, and most heartily forgave those who had offended her. ‘And the more to demonstrate

¹ *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, i. 284.

² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

the sincerity of her love and affection, she embraced and, with a smiling countenance, kissed the nobles, one by one, and to those of inferior rank who stood by her she gave her hand to kiss as a token of her kindness and dying charity.' ¹ She died on the following day, the 10th of June, and Spottiswood remarks that 'she ended her life most Christianly.' Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, saw the corpse as it lay on the bed covered with a 'fair fine white sheet, the tester of black satin, and the bed stock hanged round about to the ground'; while 'her ordinarrie,' he says, 'continues, and her ladies constantly watch the corpse.' He also tells us that the usual solemnities fit 'for so noble a personage, savinge suche as savor rather of supersticion then of Christian pietie were to be celebrated.' ² The country, however, was in the throes of a religious revolution, and it is not surprising that the obsequies of the Queen were of the simplest description. The coffin was enclosed in a casket of lead, ³ and placed within the sacred portals of the ancient chapel of St. Margaret. From the *Treasurer's Accounts* we learn that there were purchased 'foure elnys of quhite taffatiis of the cord to mak ane cors (cross) abon the quenis grace,' and $21\frac{1}{2}$ 'elns of blak and gray to hing the chapell of the Castell of Edinburgh, the quenis grace bodie lyand thairin.' ⁴ Here it remained until the 16th of March of the following year, when it was taken under the cover of night, and put on board a ship in Leith harbour for conveyance to France. Archibald Crawford, parson of Eaglesham, was placed in charge, ⁵ and it was

¹ Keith, i. 279.

² *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, i. 429.

³ *Item*, to Johne Weir, pewtherar for ane wobe of leid weiland . . . stanis to be ane sepulture to incluse the quenis grace in.

Item, to the said Johne for sowdene (solder) of the said wobe of leid.—*MS. Lord Treasurer's Accounts*.

⁴ *Ibid.* To drape the other chapel in the Castle—that of St. Mary—a much larger quantity of cloth would have been necessary. The Scots ell was equal to $37\frac{1}{16}$ inches Imperial.

⁵ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 64.

ultimately interred at Rheims in the Nunnery of St. Peter, of which her sister was abbess.¹

It may, perhaps, be admitted that, as a daughter of the house of Guise, the efforts of this talented lady were largely directed towards furthering the interests of France and the glorification of her own family; and that, for the same reason, she proved herself the stoutest supporter of the ancient faith, and Knox's most formidable opponent. On the other hand, when on her deathbed in Edinburgh Castle, the lovable side of her disposition as well as her own attractive personality appealed with sympathetic force even to the rugged Lords of the Congregation. After her death events moved rapidly. Under the Treaty of 6th July, the French auxiliaries quitted these shores, never again to return; and, on 24th August, the Roman Catholic religion was formally abolished by Act of Parliament, and its observance made penal.

X

The last Roman chaplain of the ancient Chapel of St. Margaret was, as previously mentioned, Sir Andrew Drysdale, who, under his precept, held the appointment for life 'so long as he performs the duties of his office.' These functions, however, were peremptorily terminated by the passing of the Act of 24th August 1560; but, as he continued to receive his annuity of £10 down to the time of his death in April 1566, we may, perhaps, conclude that he conformed to the new religion. His successor, who received his appointment from Queen Mary and her husband Darnley, was one Jerome Bowye, 'Master of his Majesty's'—*i.e.* Darnley's—'wine cellar.' Some delay occurred in carrying out the appointment, evidently through the interference of the magistrates and the ministers of Edinburgh, who

¹ A few months later, Mary, Queen of Scots, before quitting France for this country turned aside to visit the tomb of her mother.

claimed the fruits of the benefice as falling within the town's gift of all the ecclesiastical revenues within the burgh. The Castle of Edinburgh, it may be mentioned, was never at any time included within the bounds of the city, and the Master of Darnley's wine-cellar was finally confirmed in his *sacred* office by the Regent Moray on 30th April 1569 :—

1569, April 30. Ratification by the Crown of a Disposition and Gift by the King's deceased father and mother in favour of Jerome Bowye, now Master of his Majesty's winecellar, during his lifetime of the chaplainry of the Chapel of the Castle of Edinburgh, with £10 of fee 'aucht thairto' out of the customs of the tron of Edinburgh, with other emoluments and then vacant by the decease of Andrew Drysdale, the signature for which was to be passed under the Privy Seal 8 July 1566; and anew grants and gifts the same to him, and discharges the magistrates or ministers of Edinburgh from troubling or molesting him in the uplifting of the said fee and emoluments. (*MS. Reg. of Privy Seal*, vol. 38, fol. 47.)

At this period there was great competition, if not also intrigue, among the scions of our Scottish nobility and people of lesser note for possession of the vacant benefices of the Roman Church; and the streets of Edinburgh were crowded by the successful aspirants, who, although mere laymen and Protestants to boot, assumed, without hesitation, the full titles and designations attached to their respective dignities. Hence, lordly abbots and still more dignified priors were to be seen in numbers jostling each other on the 'plain stanes' of the city, and the contemporary records are filled with the names of these men under their titular ecclesiastical designations. The times were topsy-turvy, and, no doubt, the cellarman to one of the most dissolute and worthless characters in Scottish history would also disguise his original occupation in the proud-swelling title of chaplain to the royal and ancient Chapel of the saintly Queen of Malcolm Ceanmor! *Haec est conditio vivendi!* And it is sad to think that, with the appointment of the humble Jerome Bowye, the known

history of the much venerated little chapel should terminate for the long period of nearly three hundred years—until the year 1845.

Through the misreading of a sentence in Knox's *History*, Sir Daniel Wilson has erroneously concluded that the last chaplain to St. Margaret's Chapel was Friar Black, a learned Dominican preacher, who, ultimately to his own sorrow, distinguished himself, under the protection of Queen Mary, as a stout champion of the ancient faith. He thereby incurred the fierce enmity of the reformers, and in 1562 he was arrested by the magistrates of Edinburgh on a charge—probably false—of immorality. The Queen issued an order for his removal to the Castle, and what followed is involved in obscurity. On the night of the murder of Riccio at Holyrood Palace, Friar Black was also brutally slain there by the followers of the band of titled ruffians who, under the guise of religion, had, with their long knives, sent the unfortunate Italian to his last home. The dreadful incident was the outcome of a conspiracy aimed, in the interests of Darnley, at the life of the Queen, and, in her then condition, she was removed to the Castle for safety. Here, on St. Margaret's day, the 19th June 1566, she gave birth to the prince who, a year later, succeeded her as James VI., king of the Scots, and, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, as James I., 'King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.'

XI

According to Pitscottie, on the 26th of March 1560 'the haill lordis, barrouns and borrowis of the congregatioun that was on this syde'—*i.e.* the north side—'of Fourtht passit to Stirling, and caist doune the abbay of Dumfermling in thair way.'¹ Of the details of the proceedings on that disastrous day nothing is known; but the solid masonry of the ancient

¹ *Historie and Cronicles*, Scottish Text Society, ii. 168.

Norman nave seems to have successfully resisted the destructive zeal of the Lords of the Congregation. This venerable abbey had always been held in great repute, and what contributed mainly towards its celebrity was the preservation within its walls of the relics of its tutelar saint, the Patroness of Scotland. For a period of nearly two and a half centuries the abbey became the royal place of sepulture. The hero-King, Robert the Bruce, was the last of our Scottish monarchs to find here a resting-place, and over his tomb a magnificent monument was erected. The thirteenth-century choir of the abbey church fell an easier prey to the lust for destruction that unfortunately animated the reformers of those days, and the royal monuments joined in the ruin, probably through the falling in of the walls, it may be, at a later date. The grave of the Bruce was only discovered, almost by mere accident, in 1818; while of the tomb of St. Margaret, erected in 1250 in the Lady Aisle, all that now remains is a double plinth of limestone lying in a dilapidated condition outside and to the east of the present inartistic modern church. On the upper plinth are still to be seen six circular indentures which formed the sockets of as many pillars that formerly supported a richly ornamented canopy. But, before the desecrating hand of the reformers could touch the sacred remains of St. Margaret, they were, according to certain Catholic writers, secretly carried off and placed in safety. Papebroch has summarised the story in his appendix to the life of the saintly queen. Her head, it is alleged, was brought to Edinburgh Castle at the request of Queen Mary, who was in residence there at the time, but, after her flight into England in 1568, it was removed to the house of the laird of Dury.¹ Here it was preserved by a Benedictine monk until the year 1597, when, through fear of loss or profanation, it was handed over to the missionary Jesuits, one of whom, John Robie,

¹ At Craigluscar, three miles north-west of Dunfermline.—*Annals of Dunfermline*, Henderson, p. 202.

conveyed it to Antwerp. By letters dated 15th September 1620, John Malder, Bishop of Antwerp, after due examination, authenticated the head as that of St. Margaret, and granted permission for its exposure to public veneration. Seven years later it was taken to the Scots College at Douay, where it was again authenticated as a genuine relic of the Scottish Queen by Herman, Bishop of Arras, who offered a forty days' indulgence to those who came before it to offer prayers. This was followed by the issue of a bull, dated 4th March 1645, by Pope Innocent x., under which all the worshippers who appeared in the Church of the College on the day of the Festival of St. Margaret were accorded a plenary indulgence of forty days. On several subsequent occasions confirmation of this papal indulgence appears to have been also granted. The relic, with a quantity of fine light-coloured hair, was seen at the Scots College at Douay in 1785 by the historian Carruthers,¹ and it is understood that it was finally lost during the commotions brought about by the French Revolution.

Founding upon a statement by George Con in his treatise *De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos*, a portion of the remains of the Queen and of her husband, King Malcolm, were, Papebroch tells us, acquired after much labour by Philip II. of Spain, who placed them in the Church of St. Laurence at the Escorial. They were at that time contained in two separate urns, inscribed respectively 'St. Malcolm, King,' and 'St. Margaret, Queen.' In the early half of last century, the well-known Bishop Gillis² of Edinburgh proceeded to Madrid, and discovered in the Escorial two old paintings, evidently the doors of a diptych, representing St. Margaret of Scotland and King Malcolm III. The Spanish authorities would not permit their removal to

¹ *Life of St. Margaret*, Forbes-Leith, p. 83 n.

² Bishop Gillis was the donor to the National Museum of Antiquities of the pistols used by Burns when an exciseman.

this country ; but the Bishop obtained a portion of the relics of the saintly Queen—a piece of the backbone—which is now preserved in a shrine in the Convent of St. Margaret at Whitehouse Loan, Edinburgh.

From the year 1250 down to the time of the Reformation, the 19th of June was regularly observed as the Saint-day or Festival of St. Margaret ; but, for some unknown reason, the date was afterwards altered to the 10th of June. Chambers ¹ in 1631 gives the 10th as the day to be observed in memory of her translation, and in 1673 Clement x. allowed an office to be celebrated on that day. Now, Mary of Lorraine, the mother of Mary, Queen of Scots, died in the Castle on 10th June 1560, and it has been suggested that the 10th was adopted as a means of commemorating both St. Margaret and Queen Mary of Lorraine. These two queens died in the Castle under pathetic circumstances, and the latter, from her charming personality and as the champion of the ancient faith, enjoyed much popularity among her co-religionists. In 1678 Innocent xi. allowed the festival to be celebrated on the 8th of June ; but in 1693 Innocent xii. appointed the Festival of St. Margaret to be a festival of the Church, and again transferred it to the 10th of June. The last word on this subject is by a local Catholic authority : ‘ As the real date of the death of S. Margaret is now known beyond the possibility of doubt, the Catholic clergy of Scotland, with the leave of the Pope, now keep the feast on 16th November, whence, it is safe to say, it will never be dislodged.’ ²

XII

The Reformation brought about a drastic and almost instantaneous change in religious sentiment in our country, and all interest in St. Margaret, either as a distinguished

¹ *De Scot. Fortitudine*, D. Camerarius, p. 154.

² *Scotsman*, M. Power, S.J., 11th August 1910.

historical personage, or as a Scottish figure in the Roman hagiology, thenceforth ceased. Her Chapel in the Castle became deserted, and soon lost its identity in the troublous times that lasted down to the Revolution of 1688. Since these days, particularly after the disastrous siege of 1573, the buildings in the Castle have been subjected to a continual process of alteration, in the vain hope of bringing the fortifications into line with current military ideas. Many of the ancient buildings have been wantonly removed or disfigured in the process; but, with the advance of time, the possible existence of St. Margaret's Chapel seems, curiously enough, not to have been even suspected. In none of our histories, national or local, is a single reference to the Chapel to be found down to the year 1845; while our records in the General Register House or City Chambers, printed or in manuscript, have also maintained a 'conspiracy of silence.' It is possible, although unlikely, that the little building was utilised for the last time as the Royal Chapel during the three months' residence of Queen Mary in the Castle after the murder of Riccio; but it is certainly remarkable that it should have escaped destruction during the stormy sieges of 1573, 1640, and 1689. That of 1573, when the Castle was held for Queen Mary by the gallant and chivalrous Kirkaldy of Grange, was the most notable that ever occurred within the range of these islands. The Chapel was masked, and thereby probably preserved from injury, by the high walls of the Constable Tower and of the 'heid wall besyd Sanct Margaretis Zet,'¹ which were all reduced to ruins by the artillery fire of the English. There was much contemporary gossip regarding an attempt by the Regent Morton to poison the little flowing stream of St. Margaret's Well, at the Well House Tower in Princes Street Gardens. In the beginning of the month of January 1573, it had been noticed that the soldiers of the garrison were carrying water from this well up to the Castle,

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 332.

thereby evincing a shortage of the water-supply from the ancient draw-well. To prevent access to the well, a strong post under two captains was established by the Regent Morton in front of the Spur; while St. Cuthbert's Church was occupied by a picket under a Captain Aikman. From the western sally-port, a body of the defenders suddenly rushed down the Castle slopes, killed Aikman, and dispersed his party, and on the 17th January set St. Cuthbert's Church on fire. A week later Captain Mitchell, with a strong 'band,' as it was termed, arrived from Dundee and re-occupied the ruins of that Church. According to Killigrew, the English ambassador, orders were thereupon issued to poison St. Margaret's Well with white arsenic and new lime-stones, and to fill it up with the carcasses of animals.¹ From the *Treasurer's Accounts*, however, we learn that the material actually used consisted only of wheat and lime—'Item. be my Lord regentis grace special command for certane quheit and lyme gevin for poysoning the wellis of the Castell of Edinburgh. iii. lib.'² The attempt to make use of poison, however, was soon found unnecessary. On the arrival, on 25th April, of the English reinforcements under Marshal Drury, all access by the garrison to the well was effectively prohibited; and the Well House Tower, which apparently had been left undefended, was soon reduced to ruins.³ In that condition it has remained until the present time. The little stream was diverted into a drain in the beginning of last century; but in 1873 the officers of the 93rd Sutherland

¹ *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iv. 474.

² *MS. Lord Treasurer's Accounts*.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 332—'The tour als callit Wallace tour.'

After its erection in 1362 it is probable that a garrison would be maintained at the Well House Tower; but, during the siege of 1573, there is no mention in either the Scottish or the English accounts of any garrison, and we may assume that Kirkaldy, for military reasons, abandoned the Tower as useless. From its situation the garrison in the Tower, if attacked in force, could neither be withdrawn nor reinforced. There is no mention either in the *Exchequer Rolls* or the *Treasurer's Accounts* that guns were ever furnished to the Tower, but, in any case, they would be of small calibre, and, therefore, unable to cope with the English artillery.

Highlanders erected over the outlet of the spring a handsome 'drinking fountain' of masonry, from a design by the late James Drummond, R.S.A. The patriotic officers of this distinguished Scottish regiment have thereby rescued from oblivion the most ancient well in our country of the existence of which there is actual recorded evidence, and one which, for many centuries, has been intimately associated with the defence of the Castle.

The siege of 1640 by the Covenanters under General Leslie was, after the unsuccessful and fatal issue of an attempt to blow up and carry by assault the 'Spur' in front of the Castle, converted into a blockade, and the grim old warrior, General Ruthven, was compelled, through want of food, to surrender on 15th September. In the drawing of 1647 by Gordon of Rothiemay, the Chapel, with its three little windows facing the south, appears apparently quite uninjured, although still unidentified. During the siege of 1689, all the buildings in the Castle were exposed to injury. A battery of mortars was erected at the south-west corner of the town wall, and the shell fire not only raked the embattlements, but did considerable damage to the main buildings, including the Register House, which was then situated on the south side of the Castle between Queen Mary's bedroom and the Banqueting Hall.¹ In the plans drawn up by the well-known Slezer during the latter portion of the seventeenth century, and now preserved in the British Museum, as well as a long series compiled in the succeeding century, and deposited in the office of the Board of Works, the site of the Chapel is marked simply as that of a chapel. Strange to say, it was after passing safely through all the dangers of these troublesome times that misfortune at last overtook the little building. In the early years of last century it was converted by the Royal Engineers, who had no sympathy with ancient relics, into a magazine for the storage of the gunpowder used in firing

¹ Plan in British Museum.



THE WELL HOUSE TOWER

salutes from the Half-moon Battery! At length accident—a casual remark to a distinguished antiquarian and citizen, the late Sir Daniel Wilson—led to the identification and restoration of the Chapel to its original sacred purpose. The discovery is graphically described by Sir Daniel in an excellent notice written by him in 1887¹—

‘When pursuing the searches in the Castle in 1845, with a view to the *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, which I had then in hand, I learned of what was described to me by the garrison chaplain as a small baptismal font, existing in one of the vaults. With some difficulty I obtained access to a powder magazine on the Argyll battery, where the gunpowder used in firing salutes on special occasions was stored. The only light was derived from a small window in the west wall; and, in the obscurity of the little chamber, I was able to identify not a font, but what proved to be one of the sockets for the pillars of the chancel arch of a small Norman chapel. A wooden floor, which divided the nave into two stories, was on a level with a spring of the arch, and so effectually concealed the ecclesiastical character of the building. The gunpowder was stored in the apse; the little round-headed window on its south side was built up; and the garrison chapel, a plain unsightly modern building, which then stood immediately to the east, effectually blocked up the central window.’

The restoration was carried out under the supervision of Sir Daniel in 1853, when the five windows were filled in with stained-glass. The principal window, that in the apse, is a private memorial; while that in the western gable commemorates the share taken by Queen Victoria in the restoration:—*Hæc ædícula olim Beatæ Margaretæ Reginae Scotiæ, quæ obiit M.XCIII., ingrata patriæ negligentia lapsa, Victoriæ Reginae prognatæ auspiciis restituta, A.D. M.DCCCLIII.* The three windows in the south side are memorials to St. Margaret, King Malcolm, and their son David I., and it is remarkable that in the windows dedicated respectively to Queen Margaret and her husband, it is recorded that the death of the saintly

¹ *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. Scot.*, xxi. 293.

Queen took place on 10th June 1093, and that Malcolm died on the 6th June of that year. These extraordinary mistakes¹ in Scottish history call for rectification.

'Tis true that we can find 'sermons in stones and good in everything,' and, surely, whatever may be our religious creed, the stones of the ancient oratory of Queen Margaret in the Castle of Edinburgh should always recall to our grateful remembrance one who vividly impressed her own personality and temperament upon the spirit of her time, and did much to improve and soften the asperities of life, both social and religious, in the almost barbaric conditions which then prevailed in our country. Her marriage with the doughty King Malcolm, the founder of Scottish nationality, marks the dawn of civilisation in Scotland, and thereby forms an important epoch in our history. She accomplished much in her short married life of twenty-four years, and distinguished herself in every capacity as a queen, a wife, and a mother. Her benign influence extended through her children—particularly David I., a born ruler of men—and their descendants down to the time of Alexander III., whose untimely death at Kinghorn, in 1286, was long and sadly deplored. Even under the happier conditions of life as they exist at the present day, her memory is still surrounded with a halo of romance and veneration; and it is to be hoped that the venerable little Chapel, founded by her more than eight centuries ago, will always be guarded with jealous care and preserved from the dread hand of the restorer. Its day of usefulness may be past, and history may never repeat itself within its red walls; but it forms the solitary reminiscence to be found on this side of the Border of an important and eventful period in the history of Scotland.

W. MOIR BRYCE.

¹ Malcolm died on the 13th and Queen Margaret on the 16th of November 1093.

THE SITE OF THE BLACK FRIARS' MONASTERY FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY

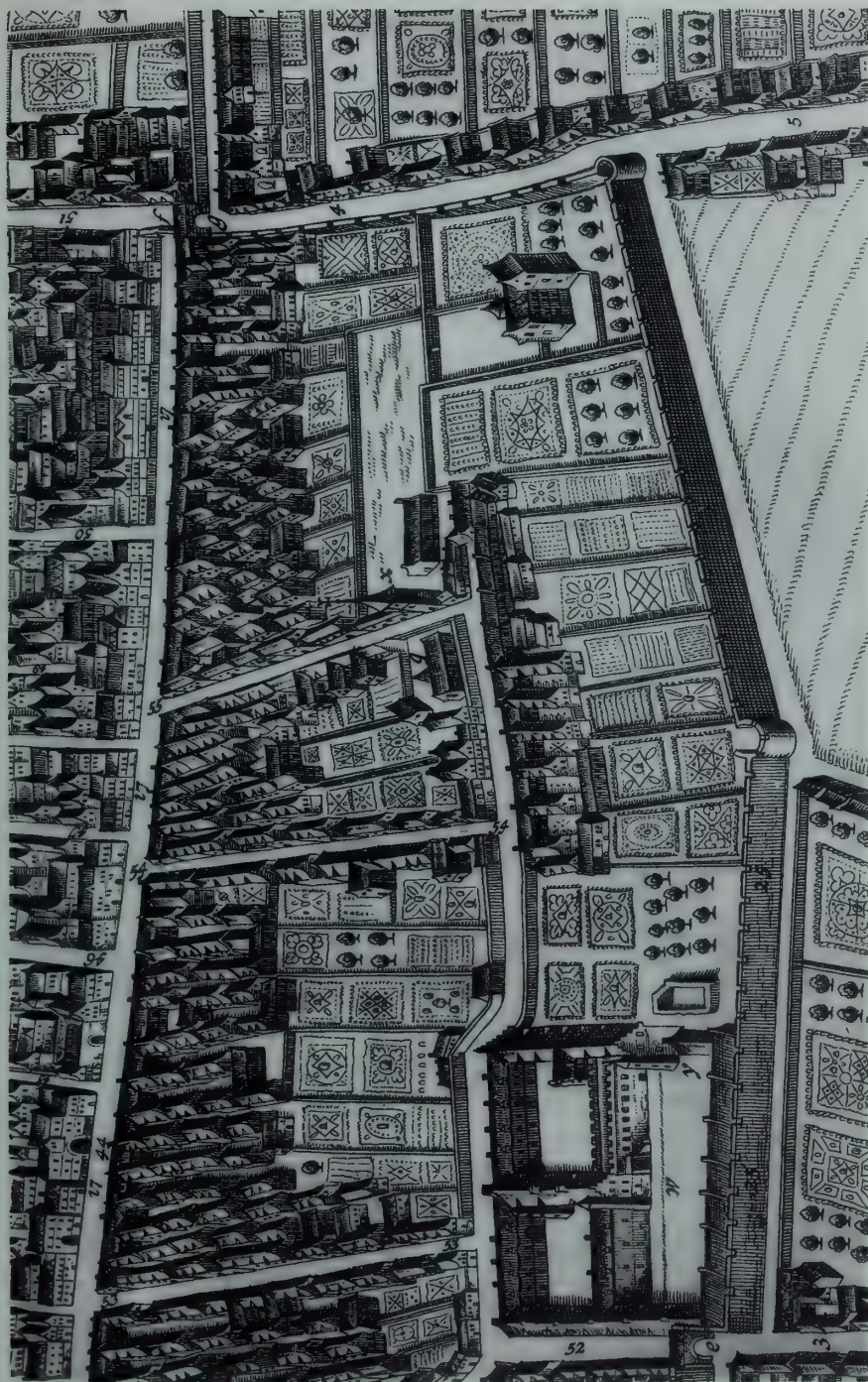
IN the article entitled 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh,' which appeared in the third volume of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Mr. Moir Bryce has brought together all the known facts regarding the monastery of the Black Friars from its foundation in 1230 down to its demolition and the expulsion of the Friars in 1559. The object of the present paper is to take up the story of the site at the latter date; to chronicle, as far as the available evidence permits, the changes through which it has passed; and to give an account of some of the more important buildings by which it has been occupied.

The site was originally a house and ground belonging to the king, Alexander II., who granted it to the Friars by charter in 1230. It lay on the rising ground to the south of the Cowgate valley, and its present-day boundaries are as follows:—On the north, the street of the Cowgate; on the west, the line of Robertson's Close, prolonged to the south along the western boundary of the ground occupied by the Board School; on the south, Drummond Street; and on the east, the backs of the houses on the west side of the Pleasance. The south and east boundaries follow exactly the line of the Flodden Wall, in the building of which portions of the original enclosing walls of the Friary were utilised. The King's gift to the Friars included a *transitum* or transe. Some writers have assumed that this was the lane or wynd leading from the

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High Street to the Cowgate, afterwards known as Blackfriars Wynd, but as there is no evidence of the Friars ever having held property in this wynd, it may be taken that the transe was a lane or roadway leading from the Cowgate into the grounds of the monastery. This roadway became in later days the High School Wynd.

On 23rd April 1561, the Town Council of Edinburgh passed the following resolution: 'It is thoct gude that the renttis annuellis and utheris emolimentis quhilkis of before war payit furth of landis and tenementis within this burgh to papistis preistis freris monkis nonis and utheris of that wikit sort for manteinyng of idolatrie and vane superstitioun seing it hes plesit the Almychti to oppin the eis of all pepill and to gyf thame the knowlege of sic vane abussis thairfoir that the saidis renttis and emolimentis be applyit to mair proffitable and godlie ussis sic as for sustenyng of the trew ministeris of Goddis word, founding and biging of hospitalis for the pure and collegis for leirnyng and upbringing of the youth and sic other godlie warkis.' In accordance with this resolution, a petition was presented by the Town Council to Queen Mary, and about two years later the Queen granted to the burgh the place and yard of the Blackfriars for the construction and erection of an hospital thereon for the relief and assistance of the poor; which hospital was appointed to be commenced within a year from the date of the infetment on the charter, and to be finished within ten years thereafter. Having got their ground for the proposed hospital, the Town Council do not seem to have been in any great hurry to commence its erection. The various buildings of the Friary had been completely demolished, and the ground being therefore waste and unoccupied, various unauthorised persons appear to have taken possession of it—squatted upon it, to use a modern expression. In July 1563 the Council ordered Andrew Craig and others 'with all deligence upoun thair awin expensis to cary away the red laid be thame in the Blak Freir Kirk



(FIG. 1) FROM THE PLAN OF EDINBURGH BY GORDON OF ROTHIMAY, 1647

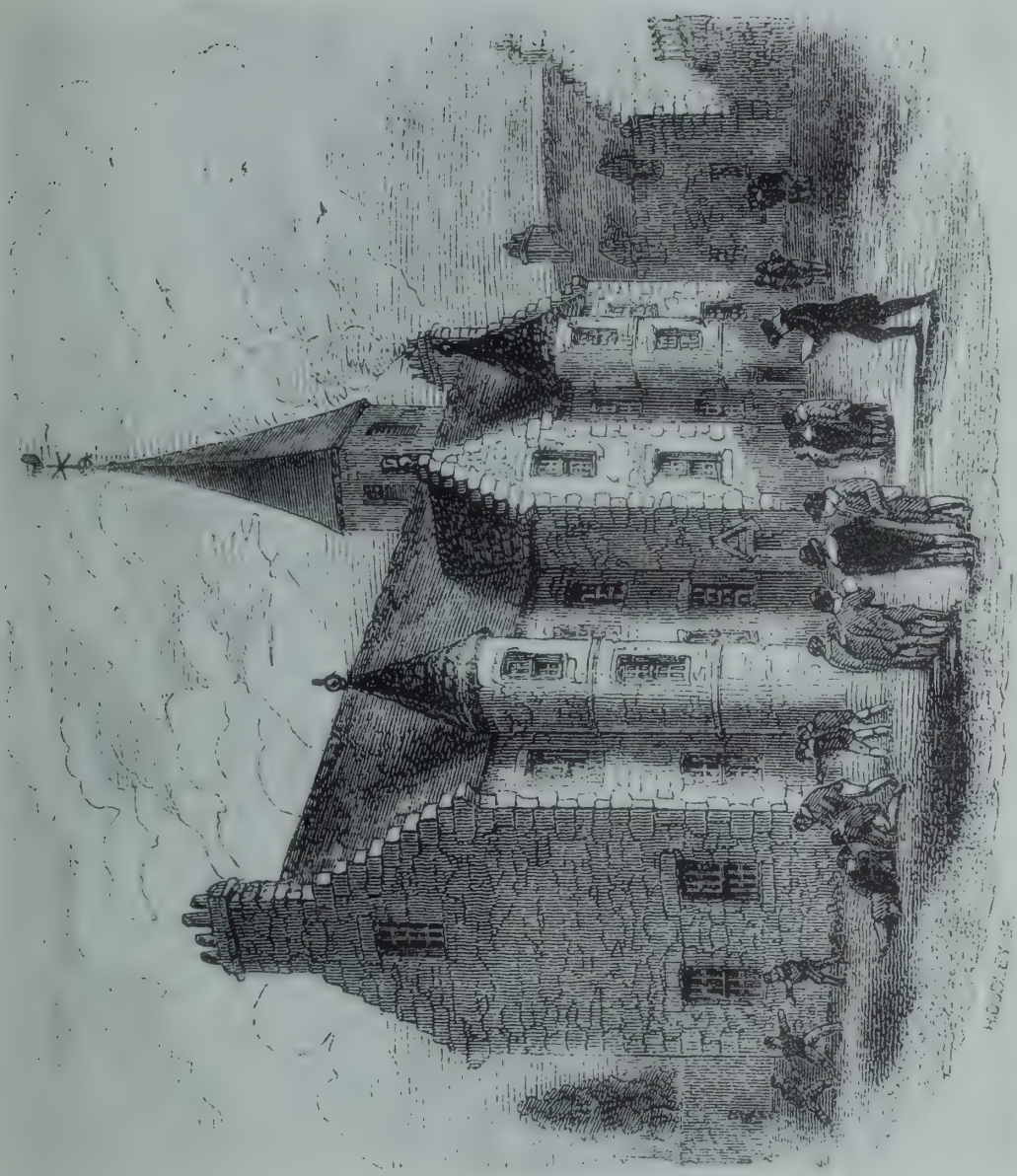
- 17. Cowgate.
- 53. Kir of Field, or College Wynd.
- 54. Robertson's Close.
- 55. High School Wynd.
- w. The College.
- x. The High School.
- y. Remains of the Kirk of Field.
- q. Lady Yester's Church.

yaird to the effect that the wark of the hospitale may proceed without impedymment thair of': and in August the same year the Town Treasurer is ordained to 'intromet with the cornys growand in the Blakfreir Yairdis sawin thair be William Brokas, smyth, sell and dispone the samyn and deliver the money thair of to the maister of wark of the hospitale to be applyit upoun the said wark and oblissis thame to keip him skaythles thair of.' Even the materials of the old buildings were appropriated without leave asked or given, for in October 1567 the Council charged 'Walter Bynning, paynter, Nichole Fyldour, Jhone Gilbert, goldsmyth, and all utheris that hes intromettit with stanys or tymber of the Blakfreris to restore the samyn agane in thair awin places for biging of the hospitale with all deligence with certificatioun and they failye thair personis salbe wairdyt quhill the samyn be done and ordanis cast down the said Bynningis yaird biggit upoun the freir kirkyaird.' By this time, however, the Town Council had come to the conclusion that a site beside Trinity College Church would be more suitable for their hospital than that of the Blackfriars Monastery, and in response to their representations James VI. granted to them, for this purpose, the site of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity and grounds connected therewith, and relieved them from the condition contained in Queen Mary's charter, by which they had been bound to erect the hospital at the Black Friars. At the same time the Council were confirmed in the possession of the Black Friars' ground, and allowed to feu or dispose of it as they might think proper. From the City Protocol Books we learn that the southern portion of the ground, known as the east, middle, and west yards, was at once feued to various individuals.

Unfortunately, no reliable views or plans of the city are extant for the period of eighty years following the date of King James's charter, and we therefore proceed to examine the plan of Edinburgh executed by James Gordon of Rothiemay

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in 1647 (Fig. 1), and to deal with the various buildings which in that plan are delineated on the site under consideration. Of these buildings the first to be considered is the High School, designated in the key attached to the plan '*Scola latina.*' The origin and early history of the High School of Edinburgh are somewhat obscure. Apparently it was in its earliest days under the control of the Abbey of Holyrood, for in 1529 James v. granted a charter confirming the appointment of a master of the school by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld and Abbot of Holyrood. The earliest evidence discovered bearing on the question of the situation of the school is contained in an entry in the City Protocol Book in the year 1506, where a property is described as lying on the east side of the Kirk of Field Wynd, '*in venella beate Marie Virginis de campo,*' and having on the north the High School, '*summa scola grammaticale.*' Here the school seems to have remained for many years, and by 1555 it had passed into the control of the Town Council, for in March of that year the Treasurer was ordained '*sa sone and as gudly as he may caus big the grammar skule lyand on the eist syd of the Kirk of Feild wynd.*' This action would seem to indicate that the school required to be entirely rebuilt, and as a matter of fact at this date the work of the school was actually being carried on in the house at the corner of Blackfriars Wynd and the Cowgate known as Cardinal Beaton's house. The Town Records contain entries of the payment of rent for this house from 1553 to 1570; and in March 1570 payment is ordered to be made to John Sandelandis of '*all maillis restand awand for the grammer scole in the Freir wynd and to deliver him the keyis of the said scole and gyf the samyn our.*' It has not been discovered where the school was located when it was removed from Cardinal Beaton's house, the next entry regarding it in the Burgh Records being seven years later, on 16th August 1577. On this date the Council '*understanding thame selves to be debt bound in greit maillis to Archibald*



(FIG. 2)

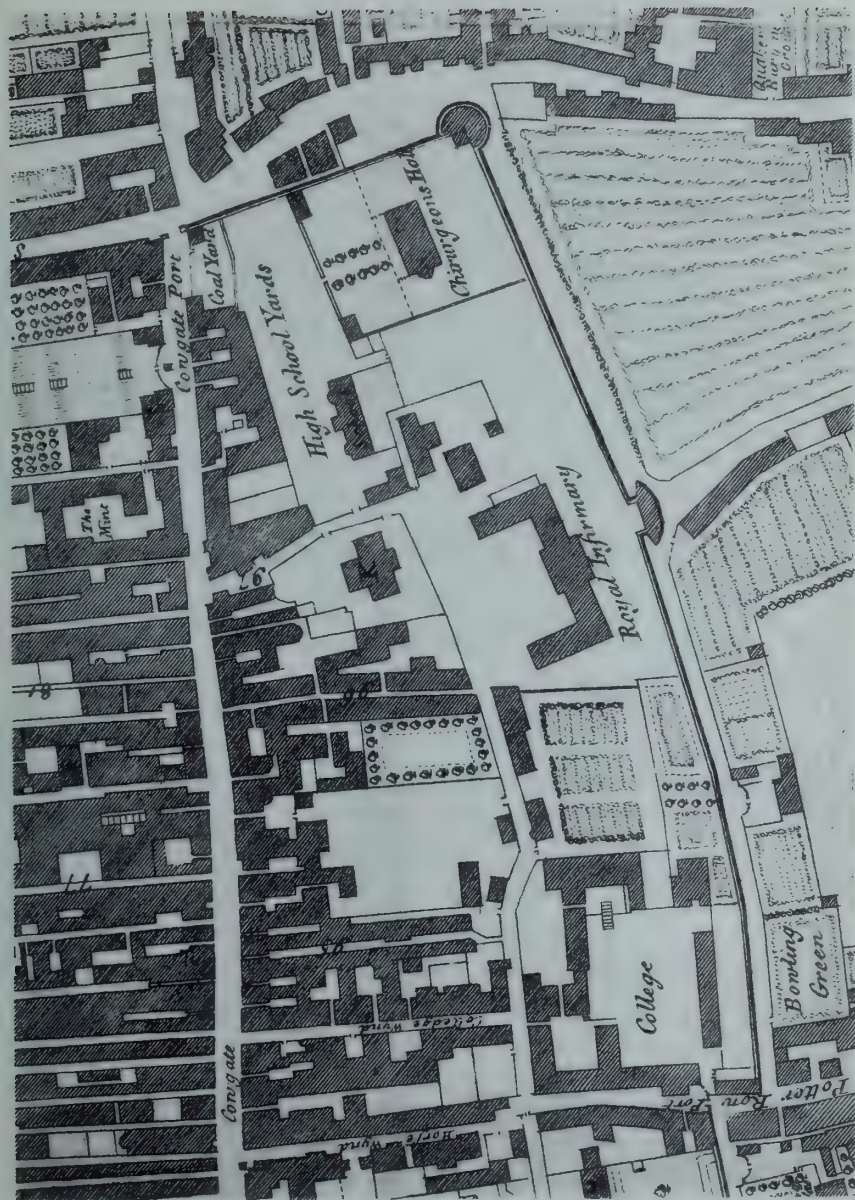
THE HIGH SCHOOL, 1578-1777

Stewart and his wyfe for thair Hie Scole quhilk was nocht wattertycht, wyndtycht or lokfast, quharefoir thay ordane officiaris to charge the said Archibald and his wyfe to repair the said scole in sklaittis tymmer and uther necessaris sua that the bairnis sit warm and dry with all deligence befor the wynter season cum on, failling thair of they being warnit as said is ordanis James Ros thair thesaurer to repair the samyn sufficientlie and the expenssis to be deducit of the reddiest of the maillis foirsaidis.' Unfortunately no indication is given of the situation of this house.

In the beginning of the year 1578 the Town Council resolved to provide a special building of their own for the High School, and they ordained the treasurer 'with all deligence possebell to begyn found and big the Hie Scole in the maist commodious place within the Blakfreir kirk yaird and be sa deligent thairupoun that the samyn be compleit bigit for resaving of the youth betuix and Witsunday nixt and that proclamatioun be maid be sound of bell through the toun that all myddingis within the said kirk yaird be removat betuix and this day viii dayis under the pane of xviiiis.' In June of the above year the Council entered into a contract with William Bickertoun, mason, to build the school, and a year later, on 11th June 1579, under an order of the Council, 'Robert Ker baillie past to the Hie Schole of this burgh quhair sumetyme wes the Blakfreir kirk of the samyn and thair possessit and placit William Robertoun as maister thair off with the haill bairnes and delyverit to him the houssis and keyis thair off.' Apparently the orders to the unauthorised squatters already referred to, to remove from the ground of the Blackfriars, had not been entirely effective, for shortly before the opening of the School, the officers of the Council are ordered to 'charge the inhabitaris and occupearis of the landis, yairdis, bygingis and houssis quhilk sum tymes pertenet to the Blakfreris of this burgh now pertenyng to the gude toun to remove thame selffis servandis and guddis from their

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possessionis liand within the glebis and landis and utheris pairttis adiacent to the Hie Schole of this burgh at WytSunday nixt under the hieast pane may be laid to thair charge.' The representation of the building in Gordon's plan is on too small a scale to tell us much of the actual appearance of the school. If the details of the plan are to be relied on, it stood in an open yard which was entered by a gateway on the west, the gateway being surmounted by a steeple or belfry. In the contract made with Bickertoun for building the school, no mention is made of this steeple or belfry, and entries in the Records referring to the bell would seem to indicate that the belfry was not erected till a later date. In December 1583 the Council ordained 'the scholehous bell to be hung in ane mair commodious place, be avyse of Robert Henrysoun, chirurgeane, and the thesaurer to furneis skaffalds and twa corbellis thairto.' Again, in November 1584, order is given 'to caus hing the scholehous bell at the utter yett of the schole.' In the following March it was decided 'to tak the bell in the Hie Schole and place the sam in the College'; and following on this the treasurer was ordained to 'refund and pay to maister Hercules Rollok, maister of the Hie Schole, the sowme of thrie pund thrie schillings deburset be him for ane littill bell and hinging thairof in the Hie Schole,' and further 'to by ane bell of sextein stayne wecht to be hung in the bell-house at the Hie Schole.' In the *History of the High School of Edinburgh*, by Dr. William Steven, published in 1849, there is a view of the building (Fig. 2), but no information is given as to the source of the view, so it is impossible to say whether or not it is authentic. It is evidently intended to show the north front of the school, the steeple appearing to the west of the main building. For nearly two hundred years this building continued as the High School of the burgh, until a new school was built on the same site, as we shall see later on. Although the history of the school itself during these two centuries lies rather outside the scope of this paper, reference may be



(Fig. 3) FROM THE PLAN OF EDINBURGH BY WILLIAM EDGAR, 1742

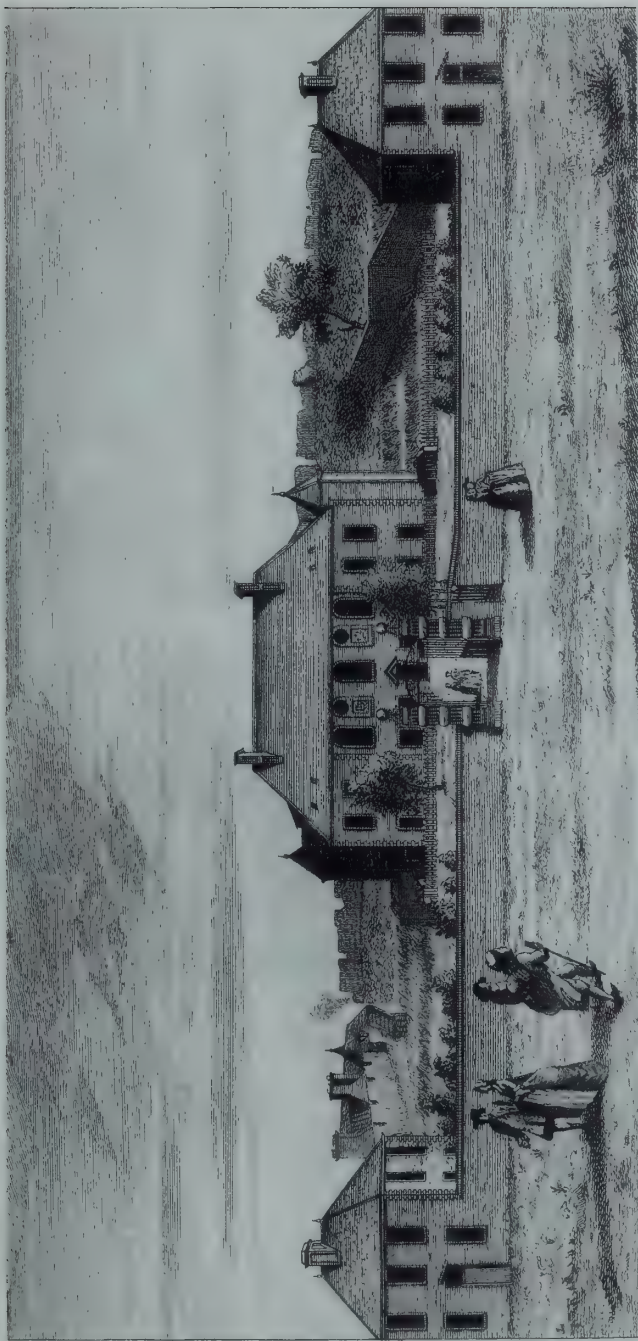
96. Robertson's Close. 97. High School Wynd. K. Lady Yester's Church.

made to an incident, or rather a species of incident, of which more than one example occurred in these early days. This was known as a 'barring out,' when the scholars on account of some grievance, real or imaginary, took possession of the school, and held it against the entrance of the masters. One of these occasions was in 1587, and is thus referred to in the minutes of the Town Council:—'Forswamekill as certane of the scholeris of the Hie Schole quhais names followes hes nocht onely tayne upoun thame to hald the schole aganis thair maister bot als maist prowldie and contemptuously held the sam aganis my lord provost and the bailyeis and being requyret wald nocht render the sam, quhairby the said provest and bailyeis wes compellit to ding in peices ane of the durris thairof and win the sam be force, at the quhilk tyme the said scholers wes fund with pistols swords halberts and uther wawpouns and airmour aganis all guid ordour and lawes and to the evill exampill of utheris.' (This is followed by the names of nine offenders, among them being a son of one of the Lords of Session and a son of Napier of Merchiston.) 'For the quhilk caus thai ar decernet to pay the sowme of xls. ilk persoun swa mony as may pay the samyn to the reparatioun of the dur and wyndowis and to underly the correctioun of thair maister in the sicht of thair condisciples. And siclyke for remembrance of this present disobedience in exampill of utheris to do the lyk, it is ordanet and concludet that na privelege be grantit in tyme cuming to any scholers of the said schole bot anes in the yeir to witt fra the xv day of May to the xxii day thairof allanerly and at na uther tymes; and gif any scholeris sall seik privelege at any uther tyme bot as said is that thai be punist in thair persoun for the samyn.' The word 'privelege' in this extract means holiday, so that the result of this rebellion was that the school holidays were restricted to one week in the year. Eight years later, in 1595, a similar 'barring out' had more serious consequences in the death of John Macmoran, one of the bailies, whose

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well-known mansion still stands in Riddle's Court. The grievance on this occasion was the refusal of holidays by the Town Council, and the occurrence is thus graphically described by a contemporary diarist, Robert Birrel:—‘Ane number of schollaris being gentlemens bairns, made ane mutinie and came in the night and tooke the schooll and provydit yameselfis with meit drink and hagbute pistolet and suord; they ranforcit the dores of the said schooll sua that thai refusit to lat in thair maister nor nae uther man. . . . The Provost and Bailleis and Counsell heiring tell of the same they ordenit John Macmorrane baillie to goe to the grammer school and take some order tharewith. The said Johnne with certein officers went to the schooll and requystit the schollaris to opin the doreis: thai refusit. The said baillie and officers tooke ane geast and rane at the back dore with the geast. Ane schollar bade him desist from dinging up the dore, utherways, he vouit to God he wald shute ane pair of bulletis throw his heid. The said baillie thinking he durst not shute, he, with his assisters ran still with the geast at the said dore. Ther came ane schollar callit William Sinclair, sone to William Sinclair, chansler of Catnes, and with ane pistolet shott out at ane window and shott the said baillie throw the heid, sua that he diet. Presentlie the haill tounesmen ran to the school and tuik the said bairns and put thame in the tolbuith: bot the haill bairns were letten frie without hurte done to them within ane short tyme thairafter.’

Returning to Gordon's plan, the next building to be remarked upon is Lady Yester's Church, occupying a corner of that part of the Friary ground lying to the west and north of the transe already referred to. This church derives its name from Margaret, Lady Hay of Yester, daughter of the first Earl of Lothian and mother of the first Earl of Tweeddale. In the year 1635 the Town Council found themselves obliged to provide two new churches for the accommodation of the citizens, and they resolved to erect one in the High Street,



(FIG. 4)

THE SURGEONS' HALL, ERECTED 1697

near the Salt Tron, and another on the north side of the Castlehill. The former of these, the well-known Tron Church, was duly built, but the latter was never completed. It is possible that its abandonment may have been partly due to the need for more accommodation having been met by the benefaction of Lady Yester, who gave to the town the sum of ten thousand merks to build a church, and a further sum of five thousand merks for the support of the minister of the same. By the terms of the gift the Council were empowered, if the ten thousand merks proved insufficient to complete the building, to use for that purpose so much of the additional five thousand merks as might be required. From a minute of the Town Council, dated 22nd January 1647, it appears that the greater part of the entire sum had been, or would be, required for the fabric of the church; and that on Lady Yester being informed of this, she had assigned to the Council a further sum of one thousand merks yearly out of the jointure payable to her by her son, Lord John Hay of Yester. This minute also contains the information that the kirk was at that date 'compleit of the maission wark and theiking thareof.' On the stone erected to Lady Yester's memory, which is still to be seen in the present church, the date of her death is given as 15th March 1647, so that the church must have been barely completed before the death of the foundress. As in the case of the High School, Gordon's plan is inadequate to convey much idea of the appearance of Lady Yester's Church, and unfortunately no other view of it is extant. From the way it is delineated in later plans, it appears to have been cruciform in plan, and of considerable size.

Reference to Mr. Bryce's plan of the ground of the Black Friars shows that the southern portion, that immediately to the north of the town wall, was divided into four yards, named respectively the east, middle, west, and another west yard. In the year 1568 these yards were feued by the Town Council to various individuals, and Gordon's plan shows that

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at his date they still remained unbuilt upon, with one exception, namely, the east yard, which was feued to a William Anderson. Of him and his immediate successors there is at present no information available, but probably it is this ground which is referred to in a minute of the Town Council of 9th March 1585/6, which states that 'danger and inconvenient may fall out in the somer season be slawchter of bestiall in the land and tenement quhilk sum tyme pertenit to umquhill William Anderson be gathering of filth and ingenering corruptioun sua neir their grammer schole quhair the maist pairt of their youth man resort.' As 'slaying of flesche' was expressly forbidden in this ground by the terms of the infeftment, the Council ordered the 'tennants and possessours of the said land to be persewet for thair said contraventioun.' In Gordon's plan there is shown standing in this east yard a house evidently of considerable size and importance. This mansion in the early part of the seventeenth century was the residence of Sir John Skene, Lord Curriehill, a judge of the Court of Session, author of the work called *Regiam Majestatem*, and of his son Sir James Skene, also styled Lord Curriehill, Lord President of the Court. The former died in 1617 and the latter in 1633. It is quite likely that the house was actually built by Sir John Skene. In 1641 the house came into the possession of the Town Council under the following circumstances. Shortly before this date, Bartholomew Somerville, a burgess of Edinburgh, whose house was situated in the Lawnmarket, on the site now occupied by the eastern portion of the United Free Church Assembly Hall, had mortified to the Town's College the sum of twenty thousand merks for the endowment of a chair of Divinity, and a further sum of six thousand merks to provide a house for the professor. In August 1641 the Council had under consideration the carrying into effect of this last provision, and we learn from the minutes that finding that the sum in question was not sufficient to erect a house 'of any



(Fig. 5)

THE ROYAL INFIRMARY IN 1749

competence, and that occasion offers of buying the house belonging to the aires of Sir James Skein with the yairds belonging thairto which may be had for the sum of 6000 merks,' they decided on purchasing the house for a residence for the professor. It was evidently larger than was necessary for one occupant merely, for in 1648 the residence within the College occupied by the Principal having become ruinous, the Council lent to him, until his house should be repaired, 'the use of that pairt of the house in the Hie School yairds sometyme called Curriehill's house . . . possest by Mr. Robert Dalgleish Agent to the Kirk.' Again, in 1650, the Council granted to the minister of the Tron Kirk, Mr. John Stirling, 'a part of Curriehill's house to dwell in beside Mr. David Dickson, professor.' For further information regarding Somerville and his benefaction, reference may be made to the article by Dr. Ross in the fourth volume of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, p. 145.

The only other point to be noted in Gordon's plan is that the original 'transe' of the Blackfriars' Monastery now bears the name of the High School Wynd, a name which it has retained to the present day.

There is unhappily no existing plan of the city for the century between 1647, the date of Gordon's plan, and 1742, that of the well-known plan by William Edgar (Fig. 3). We are therefore obliged to pass at once to the latter plan, and examine the changes which have taken place on our site, as these are delineated thereon. The first building calling for notice is the Chirurgeons' or Surgeons' Hall. This is shown in precisely the position occupied in Gordon's plan by Lord Curriehill's house, which, as we have just seen, was in 1650 the residence of one or more of the professors of the College. Six years later, in May 1656, a minute of the Town Council informs us that 'that tenement of land or lodging lyand within the burgh of Edinburgh in the hie school yaird of the same with houssis biggingis yairds and pertinents thair of

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acquired be the Counsell for the use of the Colledge . . . is now become altogether ruinous and defaced so that it cannot be repaired and re-edified without great chairges and expense.' In consequence of this, and because they found that a more convenient residence might be built for the professor within the precincts of the College, the Council resolved to sell the house in question, and it was then purchased by Thomas Kincaid, Deacon of the Surgeons, for the use of that incorporation. Apparently the surgeons found the house even in its ruinous condition sufficient for their purpose. At all events, it is not till forty years later that we find them deciding to build a new hall on the site they had acquired. The circumstances under which they came to this decision are somewhat curious. A knowledge of the anatomy of the human body had all along been a necessary qualification for membership of the incorporation, and the foundation charter or 'seal of cause' of the surgeons, dated 1505, states that every year they were to have from the town authorities 'ane condampnit man efter he be deid to make anatomy of.' As the science of anatomy advanced the necessity for more 'subjects' became evident, and in 1694 the surgeons obtained from the Town Council a grant of 'the bodies of fundlings who dye betwixt the tyme that they are weaned and thir being put to schools or trades ; also the dead bodies of such as are stiflet in the birth, which are exposed and have none to oune them ; as also the dead bodies of such as are *felo de se*, and have none to oune them ; likeways the bodies of such as are put to death by sentence of the magistrat and have none to oune them.' To this grant, however, the condition was attached that the surgeons should, before March 1697, 'build and have in readiness ane anatomical theatre, where they shall once a year (a subject offering) have ane public anatomical dissection, as much as can be shoven on ane body.' In 1696 the Incorporation decided to build, and in 1697 it was reported to the Council that the above condition had been fulfilled and the

building erected. An interesting view of the old hall by Paul Sandby is given in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, published in 1753 (Fig. 4). The view is taken from the north, and shows the hall standing in the centre of a considerable extent of garden ground. This is enclosed on the north by a wall with an ornamental gateway, and flanked at each end by a small pavilion. Bounding the enclosure on the south is seen a portion of the Flodden Wall, while another portion of the same wall appears on the east.

Referring again to Edgar's plan, we note the exact position of the High School built in 1578, and standing in its enclosure now called the High School Yards. Then on the other side of the High School Wynd there is Lady Yester's Church. The plan shows the cruciform shape of the church, and shows also the considerable open space round about it, which was used as a graveyard.

The most important building, however, which now appears in the locality is certainly the Royal Infirmary, for nearly a century and a half the main feature of this corner of the city, giving its name to that portion of the old transe of the Blackfriars which led from the monastery to the ground of the Kirk of Field. The first movement towards the establishment in Edinburgh of an infirmary or hospital for the sick poor was in the year 1721, when certain individuals prepared and circulated a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of such an institution, and appealing for support. This appeal seems to have met with little response, but in 1725 the matter was taken up by the members of the Royal College of Physicians, and eventually by the end of 1728 the Committee in charge of the scheme was able to report that the establishment of the Infirmary might be proceeded with. From a little pamphlet entitled 'An Account of the Rise and Establishment of the Infirmary or Hospital for Sick-poor, erected at Edinburgh,' which may be considered the first report of the charity, we learn that the managers 'took from the Treasurer to the

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University of Edinburgh, with consent of the Town Council, a lease for 19 years of a House of a small rent near the College, which was made more agreeable and convenient by the Professors of Medicine granting liberty to the Patients to walk in a garden immediately adjacent.' This house, which was situated at the head of Robertson's Close, was duly fitted up, and the announcement was at last made that the hospital would be opened for receiving patients on 6th August 1729. The managers were careful to say that the number of patients to be admitted should 'in the beginning be but small,' until it was seen what the cost was to be, and what funds should be available. During the first year of its existence thirty-five patients were treated in the Infirmary. A list of those, giving their residences, the illness from which they suffered, and the result of their treatment, is printed at the end of the pamphlet already quoted. In 1736 a charter of incorporation was received from George II., and the institution then became known as the Royal Infirmary. Public support now rapidly increased, and the managers considered that they were warranted in proceeding with the erection of a special building. Reference has already been made to the four yards, or portions, into which the south part of the Blackfriars' grounds was divided, the most easterly of these being that occupied by Lord Curriehill's house and then by the Surgeons' Hall. As to the early owners or occupiers of the central and western portions, it has not been possible to glean almost any information. About the close of the seventeenth century a part of the central area, that between the High School and the town wall, was occupied by a house and grounds belonging to the first Earl of Cromartie, and at the period we are now considering it was owned by one Archibald Stewart, a citizen of Edinburgh. In 1724 the westmost division of the ground was known as Thomson's Yard, being the property of John Thomson, an Edinburgh writer. From him it was purchased by the trustees of George Watson for



SURGEON SQUARE IN 1829

From the North-east

(Fig. 7)

the purpose of building thereon the hospital for boys for the endowment of which Watson had left a great part of his estate. The building of this hospital was not at once proceeded with, and ten years later, in 1734, the governors expressed the opinion that a 'more convenient and proper place' might be found for it. Two years more passed without anything being done, but in 1736 the opportunity offered of acquiring a piece of ground forming part of what was known as Heriot's Croft, lying south of the town wall, and to the west of the avenue, which at that time the Town Council were proposing to make from the city to Hope's Parks, that is, the present Meadow Walk. The governors, after consideration, decided that this was 'the most commodious and beautiful situation for the Hospital of any round the whole town.' At this juncture the managers of the Royal Infirmary came forward with a proposal to purchase Thomson's Yards from Watson's trustees, giving them the same price as the latter had paid for the same, namely, £420. Some difference of opinion seems to have existed between the governors of Watson's Hospital and his surviving trustees as to the propriety of the proposed change of site, and the pros and cons of the matter are set forth in a memorial prepared by a committee of the governors at the request of the trustees. One of the reasons given against the site in Thomson's Yards is curious. The committee say that 'there will be too little space for an area for the boys and for washing and drying their cloaths, add to this that they ly interjected between the Colledge and the High School, which should the Hospital be built there would expose the boys to the hazard of the insults of both, as well as being let into their vices.' The arguments in favour of placing Watson's Hospital in Lauriston were in the end found to be quite conclusive, and so after some delay the site of Thomson's Yards was in 1738 acquired by the managers of the Royal Infirmary. History sometimes repeats itself, and it is certainly a curious coincidence that nearly a century and a half later, when a new site

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was wanted for the Infirmary, that chosen was the site occupied by George Watson's Hospital. Having thus got their site, the managers of the Infirmary proceeded at once to plan their building, and employed as their architect William Adam, one of the famous family of that name. In their report to the general meeting of the Incorporation of the Infirmary in 1738, the managers state their opinion that 'they ought in forming the plan to have regard not only to their Capital Stock at present but to what it may be increased to in future ages. That therefore the building ought to be solid and erected of the most durable materials, not slovenly, and yet that very little or no expense should be laid out in useless ornament'; an opinion exhibiting a most judicious blend of faith and prudence. The foundation stone was laid on 2nd August 1738, and part of the building was finished and opened in 1741. In all the transactions connected with the founding and early history of the Infirmary, the moving spirit was the famous George Drummond, six times Lord Provost of the city, to whom Edinburgh probably owes more than to any other individual citizen. All classes of the community, however, seem to have shown their interest in, and helped forward the good work. Collections were taken for it in the various churches throughout the country; a share of the profits of the weekly dancing assemblies was granted; while, to quote the words of a history of the undertaking published in 1749, 'Gentlemen and Merchants made presents of Timber, Stone, Lime, Slate and other materials. Farmers and Carters supplied Carriages—Mechanicks and Labourers gave Days work gratis, and people of all ranks assisted the Managers to proceed in the building.' In 1742 the managers, probably to preserve their amenity, bought from Archibald Stewart the house and piece of ground lying to the east of their property, which, as we have seen, had formerly belonged to the Earl of Cromartie. Finding that Stewart's house was 'in a very crazy condition and in danger of falling down,' they



(FIG. 8)

THE HIGH SCHOOL, 1777-1829

demolished it, and built a new house in the expectation that, as expressed in their minute, 'it would yield a rent which will answer to the interest of the price paid.' In 1744 the house so built was let to the Countess of Haddington, at the request of her brother, the Earl of Hopetoun, one of the largest benefactors of the Infirmary in its early days. The Countess occupied the house for many years, probably till her death in 1768, she being then in her ninety-first year. She was evidently a very troublesome tenant, for in the minutes there are constant applications from her for repairs and improvements on the house.

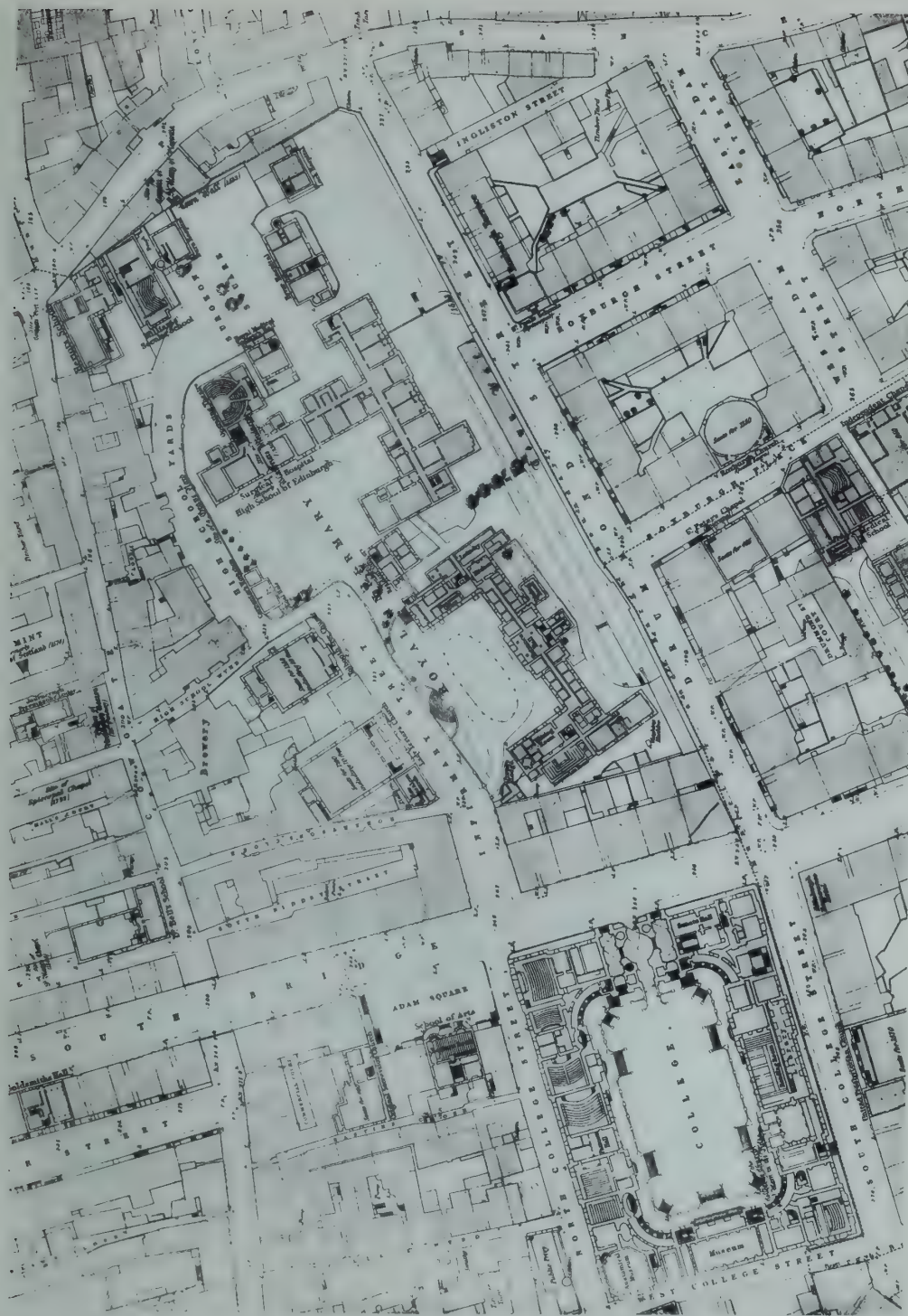
The building of the Infirmary was gradually accomplished, and it seems to have been completed according to the plan by the year 1748. In June 1749 the managers were presented with a 'perspective view' of the Infirmary drawn by Paul Sandby (Fig. 5). The artist was thanked for his gift, and the drawing was sent to London to be engraved. This engraving was, by the permission of the managers, inserted by William Maitland in his *History of Edinburgh*, published in 1753. It will be admitted that the managers certainly carried out their declared intention of avoiding 'useless ornament.' It will be noticed that on the second floor, directly above the centre doorway, there is a vacant niche. In 1755 this was filled by a statue of George II., which statue is still to be seen near the main entrance of the new building in Lauriston.

During the second half of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, great changes took place in Edinburgh. On the north the New Town came into being, while on the south also extensive additions were made to the city by the building of George Square and neighbouring streets, and by the feuing of the ground known as Nicolson's Parks, lying just outside the town wall. To the latter district direct access was given by the building of the South Bridge in 1788. The changes on the particular locality we are considering will appear by a comparison of Edgar's plan with a

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plan of the city on a fairly large scale, published by Kirkwood in 1817 (Fig. 6). Looking first at the eastern portion of our site, we find that the enclosed garden ground in front of the Surgeons' Hall has now become Surgeons' Square, an open space flanked by buildings on either side. This square was long the headquarters of the surgical profession, and the buildings on each side were mainly occupied by professors and lecturers on anatomy and surgery, who were in a certain sense rivals to the duly appointed Professor of Anatomy in the College. One of these lecturers was Dr. John Barclay, who lectured from 1797 till 1825, and whose class sometimes numbered as many as three hundred students. Barclay's classroom was on the west side of the square next the Surgeons' Hall. His successor was Dr. Robert Knox, who gained notoriety by his connection with the Burke and Hare murders. It was to Dr. Knox's classroom chiefly that the bodies of the victims were brought and sold as 'subjects,' and while there was no evidence whatever that Knox knew how the bodies had been procured, there is no doubt that blame attached to him or his assistants for accepting the 'subjects' without question, while from the character of the vendors they could hardly fail to have had their suspicions of foul play. To the north of Barclay's classroom was the Hall of the Royal Medical Society, a society whose records go back to 1737. The building in Surgeons' Square was founded in 1770, and it remained the headquarters of the Society until 1853, when it removed to the present premises in Melbourne Place. A good view of Surgeons' Square is given in Shepherd's *Modern Athens*, published in 1829 (Fig. 7). This shows the west side of the square with the buildings of the Royal Medical Society and Barclay's classroom. The Surgeons' Hall is seen to the left of these, while the centre of the square is shown as garden ground planted with trees.

The next feature demanding attention is the altered position of the High School. As we have seen, the school



FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY PLAN OF 1852

(FIG. 9)

erected in 1578 stood within the open space called the High School Yards and faced the north, the building running east and west. By about the year 1770 it had become evident that the accommodation in this old building was insufficient for the number of scholars, but the municipal revenues were not then in a condition to enable the Town Council to embark on a scheme of reconstruction. In these circumstances private enterprise and liberality came to the rescue, and a number of prominent citizens started a voluntary subscription for the purpose of building a new school. By this means sufficient funds were raised, and in June 1777 the foundation stone of the new building was laid by Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, then Grand Master Mason of Scotland. The new school was erected practically on the site of the old one, but it was placed at right angles to it, and facing west instead of north. From the engraving in Storer's *Views in Edinburgh*, published in 1819 (Fig. 8), it will be seen that the building as it still stands, in spite of the various uses to which it has been put, has been very little altered so far as its outward appearance is concerned. A large number of men, eminent in various walks of life, received their education in this building, one of the earliest of these being Walter Scott, who tells us in his autobiography that he entered the High School in 1779.

Another of the buildings in our locality now also occupies a different position from that in which it formerly stood, namely, Lady Yester's Church. It will be remembered that the church was erected at the corner of the High School Wynd and Infirmary Street, being shown in that position in Edgar's plan. This church stood till 1803, but in January of that year a report was made to the Town Council that 'the church in its present state is unsafe and unfit to be continued as a place of worship.' The Council therefore ordered it to be closed, and a new church to be built in its place. On 24th August an offer was accepted from Thomas Bonnar, wright,

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to erect the new church for the sum of £3600. For some reason which does not appear in the Records, this new church was not erected on the same spot as the old one, but on a site a little farther west, as shown on Kirkwood's plan, while the site of the old church is vacant and designated as the Church Yard. The new church was opened on 8th December 1805, and still stands.

The Royal Infirmary appears in Kirkwood's map practically as in Edgar's of 1742. There is still a large open space attached to the institution, between the High School and Drummond Street, which street now occupies the line of the old town wall.

The opening of the South Bridge must have meant a very great change to this locality in respect of convenience and accessibility. Previous to that a pedestrian from, say, St. Giles Church to the Royal Infirmary was obliged to descend to the Cowgate by one or other of the numerous closes on the south side of the High Street, and then ascend again by the College Wynd, or Robertson's Close, or the High School Wynd; while the driver of any wheeled vehicle would either have to descend by the precipitous West Bow to the Grass-market, then along the Cowgate, up the Horse Wynd, and so eastwards along the narrow street on the north of the old College, or alternatively to proceed down the High Street by the Netherbow to St. Mary's Wynd, descend that wynd to the Cowgate, and then ascend again by the High School Wynd.

In order to see the further changes which took place in this district during the first half of the nineteenth century, it will be convenient to examine the first Ordnance Survey Plan of the City on the large scale, which was issued in 1852 (Fig. 9). The most conspicuous change is the notable extension of the Royal Infirmary, that institution having now absorbed the buildings hitherto occupied by the Surgeons' Hall and the High School. By about the year 1820 two things were becoming apparent



(FIG. 10)

THE HIGH SCHOOL YARDS IN 1874
BY JOHN L'E COUTE

in regard to the High School. In the first place, that the accommodation in the building had again become inadequate for the requirements of the time, and in the second place, that owing to the rapid extension of the New Town to the north, a necessity had arisen for a new school in that quarter. Prolonged discussion ensued both in the Council and outside of it, as to whether the city should erect a second High School on the north side, retaining the old school for the service of the central and southern districts, or whether they should erect a new school in a central situation, to suit both parts of the town. At the same time a movement was set on foot to form a private company for the purpose of founding a new school on the north side, the outcome of this movement being the establishment of the Edinburgh Academy in Henderson Row. The Town Council eventually resolved on erecting a new High School in a central situation, and after discussing various sites, among them being the south side of Princes Street and the east side of St. Andrew Square, that is, the position now occupied by the Royal Bank, they ultimately fixed on the site on the slope of the Calton Hill where the school now stands. The foundation stone of the new building was laid with full Masonic ceremonies on 20th July 1825, and the school was opened on 25th June 1829. On this occasion the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, accompanied by the city clergy, the professors of the College, the High Constables, the Rector and Masters of the School, and seven hundred boys, marched in a procession from the old building in High School Yards to the new one on the Calton Hill. The High School being thus removed, the old building was at once acquired by the managers of the Royal Infirmary, and converted into a surgical hospital, for which great need had arisen. The older building of the Infirmary was then entirely devoted to the medical hospital. Shortly after this the College of Surgeons built their new hall in Nicolson Street, to which they removed in 1832. The old hall,

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built in 1697, was then acquired by the Infirmary, and was used for some time as a fever hospital. Notwithstanding these additions, the accommodation, especially for surgical cases, was found to be increasingly insufficient, and in 1849 the managers decided to erect a new surgical hospital to the east of the original Infirmary building. This was completed in 1852, and its erection involved the disappearance of the classroom of Dr. Barclay and Dr. Knox, and also some other detached buildings which appear in the older plans. The Royal Medical Society appears as still in occupation of its building in Surgeons' Square, but it must also have been dispossessed about this date, for, as already stated, it took up its present quarters in Melbourne Place in the year 1853.

In referring to the building of the second Lady Yester's Church in 1803, it was stated that the site of the old church was left vacant. It seems to have remained in this condition till 1821, but in that year a congregation of Seceders, under the ministry of the Rev. George Paxton, applied to the Town Council for a feu of this ground in order to erect a church for themselves. This was one of the ministers and congregations who refused to enter the reunion of Burghers and Anti-burghers which took place in 1820. The congregation's request was granted by the Town Council, and the church duly built. Since then the building has had a variety of occupants. The congregation for which it was erected sold it in 1843 to the Free Tolbooth congregation, who at the Disruption left their old place of worship in St. Giles. That congregation in 1852, when they moved to the New Town, sold it to the Protestant Institute. Four years later it was again sold to a United Presbyterian congregation hitherto worshipping in the Cowgate Chapel, now St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church; and lastly, when that congregation moved to a new church in Fountainhall Road, the building was bought for, and is still occupied as the Working Men's Club and Institute. When



(FIG. 11)

BULL'S CLOSE

Circa 1867

the Town Council in 1821 granted the feu to Mr. Paxton's congregation, they made a reservation of 'a right of access to the Burying Vault at the north end of the said ground.' This little burying-place is still to be seen at the back of the Working Men's Club, and is all that now remains of Lady Yester's Churchyard. Three wall tombstones still survive, but the inscriptions on them are so worn away as to be practically undecipherable. Although hardly anything seems to be known about this old burying-ground, yet it was certainly at one time in regular use. In 1749 the managers of the Infirmary asked the Town Council to 'allot a small portion of Lady Yester's Churchyard for burial of the dead of the Royal Infirmary.' The Council granted the request, but with the proviso that the managers were in their interments 'to keep at a distance from the walls, because they were to be disposed of for private burying-places.' No doubt the small bit of ground with tombstones just described is the remaining fragment of these 'private burying-places.'

Nothing has yet been said as to the most northerly part of the ground originally belonging to the Black Friars, that portion running along the south side of the street of the Cowgate. Before the Reformation the Friars seem to have feued off the greater part of this to various individuals, so that when the Friary grounds came into the possession of the town, this portion remained in private hands. In Gordon's plan of 1647 this strip of ground is shown as fully built upon, the houses having on the south gardens stretching up to the High School Yards. No building of a public nature was erected here, and among the dwelling-houses none seem to have been occupied by any person of note. Their history, therefore, has been similar to that of other parts of the Cowgate, a history of gradual deterioration, from being the suburban residences of nobles, churchmen, or wealthy burgesses, down to crowded insanitary slums occupied by the poorest inhabitants. A water-

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colour drawing by John le Conte, dated 1874 (Fig. 10), shows the appearance which these buildings presented shortly before they began to disappear under the hand of modern improvement. The view is taken from a point near the western end of the High School Yards, and depicts the south frontage of the range of buildings in question. In the distance to the east is seen the building of the Heriot Foundation School, occupying the extreme north-east corner of the original ground of the Black Friars. This school was erected in 1840, and was one of several such established by the Heriot governors under a scheme initiated by the late Duncan M'Laren, M.P. About the centre of this group of houses was a narrow twisted alley called Bull's Close. The photograph of this close (Fig. 11) gives a good idea of the character of the buildings and their condition shortly before their demolition. At the west end of this range of houses was the High School Wynd, the original transe leading from the Cowgate to the Monastery. Here also the buildings were latterly in a quite ruinous condition, though at the same time highly picturesque. The view looking down the wynd (Fig. 12) shows the houses on the east side, while at the foot on the opposite side of the Cowgate is seen the little corner turret of Cardinal Beaton's house. Another view looking up from the Cowgate end (Fig. 13) shows the houses on the east side up to the corner of the High School Yards. The last house at the top was well known to old High School boys as the 'Jib' house, where a certain James Brown and his wife made and sold a species of toffee known as 'Jib.' On the right of the view is a part of the wall which originally bounded Lady Yester's Churchyard, while the house seen in the distance is probably that already referred to as having been occupied for many years by the Countess of Haddington. The buildings of the High School Wynd, and the greater part of those in the High School Yards, were among those dealt with by the Improvement Act of 1866, promoted by Lord Provost Chambers, and under



(FIG. 12) HIGH SCHOOL WYND, LOOKING NORTH
Circa 1867

the operation of that Act, and of subsequent improvement schemes, they have all now disappeared.

It now only remains to record very briefly the changes which have taken place during the last half-century. The spaces left vacant by the demolition of the ranges of houses last referred to have been to some extent filled by large blocks of tenements, which, though no doubt in many essential matters superior to their predecessors, certainly fall very far behind them in the quality of picturesque effect. The old High School Wynd is now a fairly wide street flanked by ugly modern tenements.

The extensive additions made to the Royal Infirmary in 1853, while providing satisfactory accommodation for surgical patients, did not affect the medical hospital, which was still housed in the original building of 1738. This was now rapidly falling into disrepair, and was, besides, quite inadequate for its purpose, so that in 1864 the managers reported that it was absolutely necessary to face the question of the rebuilding of the medical hospital. Plans for this were prepared by Mr. Bryce, but in 1866 the suggestion was made whether the time had not come for erecting an entirely new Infirmary, embracing both medical and surgical hospitals, on a less confined and more healthy site. Considerable discussion followed on this proposal, until at last it was resolved to purchase the building and ground of George Watson's Hospital in Lauriston, and to erect the Infirmary there. The foundation stone was laid by our late King, then Prince of Wales, on 12th October 1870, and the building was opened on 29th October 1879.

The greater part of the buildings vacated by the removal of the Infirmary to Lauriston was occupied for some years as the City Hospital for infectious diseases. The exception to this was the original building of 1738, latterly the medical hospital. This building remained unoccupied for some years, and when it was finally pulled down about 1884, the orna-

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mental pediment in the centre above the main doorway came into the possession of Mr. Macfie of Dreghorn, who built it into the wall of a stable at Redford House. There, at the side of the road leading from Colinton to Hunter's Tryst, this bit of Old Edinburgh may still be seen. On the side wall of the same building is the niche which contained the statue of George II. The inscription below the niche is still there, but the statue itself is, as already mentioned, in the grounds of the Infirmary in Lauriston. The only other fragment of the old building which has survived is the entrance gateway. This is still to be seen in Drummond Street, where it forms an entrance to the grounds of that portion of the old Infirmary buildings which still remains. The site of the old medical hospital is now occupied by the South Bridge Board School and the Corporation Baths, while the buildings of the High School and the surgical hospital, erected in 1853, are used by the University as engineering classrooms and laboratories. The only substantial relic of olden times still remaining is the Surgeons' Hall. At some period of its history the front of this building must have been renewed, for the shape and position of the windows differ from what is shown in the view by Sandby; but the original doorway is still there, bearing above it the date 1697, and in many of its features the building to-day is pretty much as it has been during all these two hundred and fifteen years. A drawing of the doorway is given in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. ii. page 8. Probably the old hall will ere long disappear like its neighbours.

The endeavour has thus been made to trace, so far as available materials allowed, the changes which have taken place in this corner of Old Edinburgh from the time when, after three centuries of occupation by the Black Friars, it came at the Reformation into the possession of the Edinburgh Town Council. It can hardly be said that round this locality there lingers that halo of romance which surrounds such



(FIG. 13)

HIGH SCHOOL WYND, LOOKING SOUTH

Circa 1867

places as the Castle, Holyrood, St. Giles, and many of the private houses in the town; but it must be admitted on behalf of this comparatively restricted area, that during all these centuries it has been the scene and centre of no small part of the ecclesiastical, educational, scientific, and philanthropic activities of our ancient city.

WILLIAM COWAN.

THE OLD TOLBOOTH

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS

[*Continued from Volume IV. p. 144*]

THE extracts now printed are taken from the four MS. volumes described as follows:—

Warding Book, May 27, 1662, to August 22, 1666.

Releife Book, May 29, 1662, to September 21, 1666.

Warding Book, January 2, 1667, to June 28, 1671.

Warding Book, August 25, 1671, to January 10, 1676.

Most of the entries in these volumes refer to cases where money or the lack of money was the root of the evil. Church and political trouble was responsible for many others, while serious crime contributed a share of smaller dimensions than might have been expected. Debtor, politician, churchman, and criminal thus rubbed shoulders as they passed through the dark and narrow passages of the Old Tolbooth.

Edr May 28 1662

The lords of the articls ordaines maisters James Nasmyth mathew James
mowatt alex^r Blaire John Karstairs James Rowatt and James Veatch Nasmyth
ministers to be made close prissoners in the tolbutth of Edr, And heirby Mathew
grants warrand to majestrats of Edr to put this order in executioun Mowatt
conform Alexr Blaire
Sic Sub Glencairn I.P.D. John
Karstairs

[Nasmyth ? m. of Hamilton, Mowatt m. of Kilmarnock, Blair m. of Rowatt
Galston, Carstares m. of the High Church of Glasgow and father of James
Principal Carstares, Rowatt m. of Kilmarnock 2d. charge, Veitch m. Veatch,
of Mauchline.] ministers,
imprisoned.

June 6 1662

My Loird proveist

Mr John
Carstairs re-
leived.

You sall vpon sight hearoff sett Mr John Carstairs to libertty yt he may goe to any ludging in the toun he pleaseth for his helth vntill farder orders. ffor the proveist of Edr *Sic Sub Middleton*

June 7 1662

Mrs
Ewphame
Wallace to
visit
Mr Mathew
Mowat.

Permitt the bearer hearoff Mrs Ewphame Wallace to goe into the tolbuith of Edr and speik wt Mr mathew mowat now prissoner yrin whene ever she shall desyre the samyn And thir pntts shalbe your warrand Given vnder my hand att hallyrudhouse the 6 day of June and yeir of god afoirsd Derect for Ro^t Murray goodman of the tolbuith of Edr or any of his deputtes These

Sic Sub Middleton

June 11 1662

Bailly Murray

Lett this fellow outt of your prissone yt I caused imprisson yesterday morning And this salbe your warrand from your humble servant *Sic Sub Geo: Kinaird*

I doe nott resolve to give the villen any punishment since they ar my friends yt ownes itt.

[The name of this 'fellow' and 'villen' does not transpire.]

June 11 1662

My lord provest

[Visitors to
the im-
prisoned
ministers.]

It was the mynd of the artiells yesterday that naine relations to the prissoners might vissit them yare can be nearer than wyff & children & brethrein in law so I hoip ye neid not scrupell to permitt Mr James veitch wyf and his brother in law to vissit him this is the desyr off yor servand *Sic Sub R. ylles*

June 12 1662

[Mr Mathew
Mowat's
nieces to
visit him.]

Permitt Margerat Heilleine and Ewphame Inglishes neises to mr mathew mowat minister att Kilmarnocke and now prissoner in the tolbuith of Edr To viseit the foirmentionet Mr Mathew mowat yr vncle there And these presentes shalbe your warrand Given att Halyrudhouse the 11th day of June and yeir of god forsd

Sic Sub Middleton

June 13 1662

John Kincaid releived furth of ward att comand of Bailly John Kincaid
 Lawder Be vertew of ane warrand from his matties privy counsell as releived.
 followes

Att Edinbrugh the 12th day of Junij 1662 years anent ane petitione presented be John Kincaide in Tranent, Shewing that whairas the petitioner being incarcerat within the tolbuith of Edr where he hes remained thesse nyne weeks past, for alled^t unwarrantable pricking of persones suspect of witchcraft, and for tryall and examinatione was referred to the justice Generall and his deputts who are readie to give in their report, which is desyred by the petitioner, And now he haveing become so infirme and diseased of bodie, being ane old man, that if he be not speidilie put to libertie it will be to the great hazard of his life, Desyring Therfor that the report of the Justice Deputts may be called for and considered and the petitioner liberat upon cautione to reenter whenever requyred and for to forbear practising of pricking in tyme comeing without speäll warrand, As the petitione bears, Quhilk petitione togidder with the report from the Justice Deputtis, who were appointed to take tryall of the bussines, Being heard read seine and considered, The Lords of his Maties privie Counsell Gives warrand to the Magistrats of Edr to causs put the sd John Kinckaid to libertie furth of ther prissone In swa farr as he is incarcerat for the causs above writtine He alwayes finding sufficient cautione acted in the Counsell books, or books of adjournall, That he shall not prick or torture any persone suspect of witchcraft in tyme comeing without a warrand from the sds Lords of Counsell or his Maties Justice Deputtis, As he will be ansuerable to his vtmost perrill And that he shall appear, and ansuer for any thing that can or shall be laide to his charge, whensoever he shall be called for or requyred, under the penaltie of ane thousand pounds scotts money

Extractum per Me *Sic Sub:* Pet: Wedderburne

[Caution found same day]

Jully 3. 1662

At comand of my lord provest & Bayllyes of Edr. Mr Mathew Mowatt & James Rowat ministers releived forth of ward as foulles Mowatt and
 (followes) Be ane suplica^one subvd be ther hands drect to his grace Rowatt re-
 my lord comissioner as followes lieved.

My Lord provest

Thes shall desyr yat upon seight heiroff you may put at libertie forth of the tolbutth of Edr maister mathew Mowatt and mr James Rowatt now prissoners yrin the(y) finding caution not to goe out w^tout the towne of Edr till further order. Givein at Hallirudhous the first day of July 1662 yers. *Sic. Sub.* Middelton.

For Sir Ro^t Murray

lord provest of Edr.

Jully 3. 1662

Mr James
Veatch and
Mr Alexr.
Blair re-
leived.

Att comand of my lord proveist and bailleis of Edr. Mr James veat(c)h and mr alex^r Blair ministers releived furth of ward be ane supliñe subv^t wt yr hands drect to his graice my Lord Comiss^r. as followes

My Loird proveist

Permitt the petitioners to remove from your tolbutth and ludge in the Toun : vpon Sr John veatchs securittie. *Sic. Sub.* Middleton.

Sir John
Veitch
surety.

I Sr John veatch doeth ingaidge my selff suretty for the above writtine petitioners and I am lyable for yr staying wⁱⁿ the Toun ; of Edr and I shall answer for yr appearance to his matties Comissr or proveist and bailleis of Edr ; vpon the haizard and penñltie as his matties Comissr or proveist shall lay upon the writter and subscriber of thir pñts att Edr this 3th July 1662 yeirs *sic. sub.* Sr Jo. veitch

Cussing Lett mr Alex^r Blair and mr James veat(c)h to Libertyt & keipe this order for your warrand ffrom his graice my Lord Comissr ; w^t Sr John veatch his ingadgement *sic. sub.* Ro^t Murray proveist

Jully 23. 1662

Willame
fairly re-
leived.

Vpon ane suplicatione presented to my Loird high Chancellor of Scotland in behalff of Mr Willame fairly sone to vmq^{le} Sir Robert fairllie of Braid Kny^t By vertew q^roff the said Mr Willame fairllie is releived furth of ward att comand of Baillie Patrick murray as followes ; Edgh 23 July 1662 These ar to give warrand to the majestratres of Edr

To sett Mr William fairllie to Libertyt furth of y^r tolbuith notw^tstanding of ye former warrand in respect y^e bussines is standing suspendett beffoir the Lords of Sessione and dischairges the former warrand

Sic Sub

Glencairn Can^{ll}

Jully 25 1662

Whereas the persons of William Taylor and Kaithrain Reid ar ^{William} aprehendet as notorious and hieway perssones as doeing many viollances ^{taylor} in severall pairtes of this kingdom Therefoir I houp you will put yr ^{Kaithraine} perssones in sure firmance till they be further tried and I shall ingadge ^{Reid hieway} to sie duetteis dischairged ffor q^t may cēerne ye. As witnes my hand ^{robers.}
att Corstorphein: *Sic Sub* Sir J. Coupper

[See also under date July 4, 1663. A short account of the trial appears in the *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Society.]

August 8 1662

At Edinbrugh the nyntenth day of May 1662 yeirs Anent ane ^{John Dick} petitione presented be John Hay messenger shewing that notwithstanding the petitioner hath thesse threescore and six years lived ^{Pricker.} regularly without any scandall, as is notorlie knowine and can be testified, by the wholle gentellmen and neighbours upon the place. Yett such hath beine the unreasonable and boundlesse furie of some malicious enemies that they did bryb ane cheating fellow, named John Dick, to fix ane blott of perpetuall infamie vpon the petitioner by shaveing all the pairtes of his bodie, and thereftir pricking him to the great effusione of his blood, And with much torture, to his bodie, All which as it was done without commissione, Albeit torture be ane act of jurisdiction competent to none but the Lords of Privie Councell, So was it lykwayes the takeing of ane frie leidge, and of one who as ane messenger carried the badge of his Māties service, And so was ane act most unwarrantable tending to the irreparable shame of the petitioner, who now is confyned to his death bed, by the creuell and joint tortures of bodie and spirit desyreing therfor, That the Magistrates of Innernes Taine or Dornoch or any other gentellmen, that should be most fitt thought, Might be ordered to apprehend the sd John Dick, And to secure his persone in prisone, whyle tryall be takine of the forsd matter, And such censure inflicted vpon him as shall be found just, As the petitione bears, Quhilk petitione being at lenth heard read seine and considered, The Lords of his Māties Privie Councill, Gives warrand and order, to the Shireff of Innernes, or his deputtis To magistrates of the sd brugh or of the brughes of Taine & Dornoch,

Or to any other Shireffes magistrates or justice of Peace within this Kingdome, within whose bounds the said John Dick shall be found, To apprehend him and secure his persone in prissone, And to send him to the magistrates of Edr, who are heirby appointed to receave him, and putt his persone in sure firmance within the tolbuith of the sd brugh, therein to remaine upon his owine charges whille further order from the Councill

Sic Sub Pett: Wedderburne

August 13th 1662

Proveist and Baillies of Edr

William Reid
executed.

Forasmuche as William Reid prissoner in the tolbuith of Edr, being in ane justice Court haldine be us his mätties Justice Deputtis, vpon the tenth day of July last found guiltie be ane assysse of airte and pairte, of the slaughter, of vmq^{lle} George Lindsay In maner spē^d in his dittay, is now in ane court haldine be us vpon the 13th day of August, adjudged to be taken upon monday the 18th day of August instant, To the mercat Croce of Edr And ther betwixt 2 and 4 of the eftirnoone his head to be strucken from his bodie, And his goods to be escheat to his Mätties use Ye shall theirfor cause the s^d sentence be put to dew executione Quharanent thir pñts shall be your warrand Givine at Edr the thertineth Day of August 1662 *Sic. Sub.*

Mr Alexr Colvine

John Cuninghame

[William Reid was accused of having in August 1654,¹ in the Glen of Ogle, shot and killed George Lindsay, brother to the Laird of Pittairly, who was in his majesty's service under the command of the Earl of Middleton. Reid was then a corporal of horse in the English army, and had been sent out with two others to scout. They fell in with Lindsay who was shot, and Reid was accused of 'robbing his horse and cloaths, carrying them to the Castle of Glames commanded by an English Garrison.' See *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

August 30th 1662

James
Maxwell
releived.

James Maxuell sone laufull to the deceast mr James Maxuell bishope of Rosse releived.

¹ The date is also mentioned as September 1653.

[Warded by caption at the instance of James farquhar an Aberdeen merchant. Another 'releif' entry appears on September 13th.]

September 11th 1662

James McFerline releived furth of warde at comand of baillie ^{James} Ro^t Sandilandes, upon ane petitione givin in to his maties Justice ^{McFerline's} Deputtis as followes. ^{releived.}

The humbill petitione of James McFerline
Sheweth

Whereas the poor petitioner was a prissoner and a sadd sufferer ^{James} within the tolbuith of Edr ane year and ten moneth, and upon cautione ^{McFerline's} he was liberat to re-enter whenever he and his cautioner wer requyred ^{petition.} for that effect who was entered heir againe upon the twentie day of June last past But for what causs or occasione or who is my accuser I doe not know but is lying heir, in a most lamentable conditione without anything to live vpon or ly upon but the baire floore, except what he beggs over the windowes, so that if your lo/ doe not pitie the sadd and woefull conditione of the petitioner he may lay other twentie four moneths, and sterve, without hearing, except your lo/ make remeid, And be pleasit for the Lord Jesus saike, either causs my accusers insist against me upon such aneshorte day or dyatt as your lo/ shall appoynte or failyieing let the poor hungered prissoner be put to libertie that he doe not perishe and withall that your lo/ may ordaine a maintainance for him for tym bygone and to come dureing his abode, and your lo/ answer, and he shall ever pray.

[The petitioner ordered to be put to libertie, 'he inacting himselfe in the buikes of adjournall, to appear when requyrit under the paine of fyve hundreth merks,' 11th September 1662.]

September 23th 1662

At Edinbrugh the sixteine day of September ane thousand six ^{Walter Lyon} hundreth and sixtie two years, Anent ane petitione presented be ^{and Thomas} Walter Lyon and Thomas Smith prissoners in the tolbuith of Edr., ^{Smith} Shewing, that they haveing served in the hills under the comand of ^{banished.} the Lord Chancellour and being takine prissoners were exyled to Barbadoes where they continued in great slaverie and bondage untill his maties happie restauratione And haveing returned to Scottland ther native cuntry, And being by accident in the company of some

persones who toke upon them to rifle some Inglishes They were therupon apprehended and incarcerat within the tolbuith of Edinbrugh where they have remained in great misery this long tym past, Albeit it be of veritie that they were not principall actors of the s^d cryme and any accessione they have thereto was not of their inclinatione but by necessitie and povertie driven therto And that what was takine from the s^d Inglishes was p^{ntlie} restored Desyreing therefore that their sadd and deplorable conditione might be commiserat and they sett to libertie vpon cautione As the petitione bears, Quhilk petitione being at lenth heard read and considered The Lordis of his matties Privy Councell doe by thesse presentis discharge the justices to proceid any farder agst the supplicants at this tyme And gives warrand and Comand to the magistrates of Edr to putt them to libertie furth of there tolbuith and prissone They enacting themselves in the buikes of adjournall To remove themselves presentlie furth of this kingdome and never to be seine within the same under the paine of death.

Sic: Sub: Pet: Wedderburne.

[Walter Lyon and Thomas Smith 'enacted' themselves accordingly.]

September 23th 1662

John
Kincaide
releived.

John Kincaide releived furth of wairde at comand of baillie John Lawdder who was wardet at the instance of Sir John Smith for all^t breaking of houses as followes

In regairde John Kincaide was comitted to the tolbuith of Edr by informatione from the Constable of Neither Cramond vpon some pretendit theft and breaking of houses And he haveing layine in wairde some fyve weeks and not being persewed by any bodie and altogither famished for want of entertainment to himselfe wife and thrie bairnes, Thesse are theirfor to desyr you to put him to libertie he buiking himselfe not to be seine in the shyre heireftir

Sic Sub

For the magistrates of
Edinbrugh or any of them
22 September 1662

J. Smith

October 1st 1662

I Doctor M^ccley Chirurgion, does declare that I am freilie dischargit and payet of Robert Grahame weaver in the Canongaitte,

And therefor to lett him to libertie, according to baillie Sandilands order

Sic Sub Doctor Mcleay

Sir Baillie

The poore man Robert Grahame above nominat is prisoner for haveing hurte Marie Arnots husband and now seing the chirurgeon is satisfied and that Robert Grahame brewar bearer heirof is content to engadge to produce the persone when he shall be called for (if neid shall be) which is all was craved, you may be pleasit to enlarge him as I would have done yesterday (before the Electione) This being to no vther purpose I rest, October 1th 1662 your humble servitor

Robert
Grahame
releived.

Sic Sub R^t Sandilandes

For the right honorable
Lawrence mercer baillie

Novemr 4th 1662

George Gladstoinnes of Dodds releived furth of wairde at comand of baillie George Reid as followes

George Gled-
stone of
Dodds re-
leived.

At Edinbrugh the 4th of November ane thousand six hundreth and sixtie two years Anent ane petitione presented be George Gledstone of Dodds shewing that he is incarcerat within the tolbuith of Edr for the alledging speaking of words tending to treasone which could not be made appear and now being fyned in two hundreth pundis sterling be the parliament is yett detained in prissone By which imprisonment he is rendered vnable not onlie to mantine himselfe and his familie But to give that satisfactione which is requyred Desyreing therfor warrand and order to be putt presentlie to libertie that he may goe about his affaires and provyde money to satisfie according to the appoyntment of the act of parliament as the petitione bears Quhilk petitione being at lenth heard read seine and considered The Lordis of his maties privie counsell gives warrand and order to the magistrates of the brugh of Edinbrugh To sett the supplicant to libertie furth of the tolbuith of the s^d brugh within 24 houres nixt eftir they shall be requyred thereto And if neid beis Letters to be direct heirvpon in forme as effeirs

Sic Sub

Peter Wedderburne

Done be James Norrie officer

November 6th [1662]

Mr John Broun [minister of Wamphray]. Thes ar to give order and warrand to the keeper of the tolbuith of Edr to receive the person of maister John broun minister at Wamphray and to secure him in closse prisson whill further order Givine at Edr the sixt of nov^r 1662

Sic Sub Glencairn Chancelare I.P.D.

Decemr 8th 1662

My lord prowest and bayllyes of Edr.

John Ridpeth whipped, branded, and banished. Forasmuch as in ane court of Justiciary halden be vs his maiestis justice deputs wⁱⁿ the tolbutth of Edr vpon the fourth day of December instant John Ridpeth tinker was adjudget to be wheipt vpon wedens-day the 10th of this instante throw the high streat of Edr from the Castle hill to the netherbow brunt on the cheick w^t the Tounes comōn marke and banneished the kingdome for the cryme of duple adultry w^t Catherine stevensone spouse to James Hendersone tinker as he vpon y^e 26th of novē last bypast was found guiltie of ye s^d cryme These ar therefore to require yow to cause putt this sentence to dew executione againest y^e said John Ridpeth Quheiranent thir pⁿ shalbe your warrand Given att Edr the 8th Decr afoirs^d 1662

Sic Sub

John Cunynghame

[This case is noted in the *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

December 15th 1662

Edr the 11th Dec 1662

Mr John Broun, minister of Wamphray, releived. The Lords of his maties privy counsell ordeanes mr John Broun laitt minister att Wamphray to be put to libertie furth of y^e tolbuith of Edr where he is now prissoner in regaird he hes obleidget himselff to remove off the kinges dominiones wⁱⁿ ane month efter y^e daite hearoff and nott to remaine wⁱⁿ the samyn hearefter w^tout licence from his magestie or privy counsell vnder y^e paine of deith. *Sic Sub*

Peter Wedderburne

att comand of Baillie Mersser

January 19th 1663

Mr John Waugh, 'minister att Burrstounes releived furth of ward.' Mr John
 [On payment of sums due by him. He was incarcerated on the 8th January.] Waugh
 minister att
 Burri-
 stouness
 releived.

March 7th 1663

Edr 24 february 1663 the Lords of his mätties privy counsell being Anthony
 informed that y^e Earle of hoom as shereff of Berwicke and his deputtes Hoge and
 have caused apprehend the perssones of Anthony Hoge and Andro Andro
 Robsone two trifficking quackers : and caused imprissone theme wⁱⁿ quackers.
 the tolbuith of Duncce we doe thinke fitt to returne thanks to y^e sd
 Earle for his good service and doe grantt warrand to y^e said Earle or
 his deputtes to transpoirt the saids perssones from Duncce to the tolbuith
 of Edr and requires the majestrattes of Edr to secure y^r perssones in
 sure firrmance while farder order

Sic Sub Glencairne Can^{ll}

[Releived August 20, 1664.]

Apryll 22 1663

I desyr thes demented bodies the qwakers be set at libertie and Aucht
 certifie them that if they be fownd iny mor trobling this place wth qwakers
 meiting vpon the lords day, the nixt prisson shalbe the corectioun releived.
 hous

Sic Sub

Sir Androw ramsay

for ro^t murray gud
 man of the tolbutth

Provest

[June 8, 1663]

The lords of his Majesties privie Counsell having received certaine Wearistoun
 intelligence that Archibald Jonston somtyme of Warristoun is coming wardet.
 home, and that within verie ffew dayes is to arive at leith Thes doe
 therfor requyre and ordaine the provest and majestrats of Edr to
 provyd ane sufficient gaurd to receive him at the shore of leith when
 he hes landet and that he be bro^t up from thence vpon ffoot baire heidet
 to the tolbutth of Edr wher the majestrats ar to secure his person in
 closse prisson w^{out} suffering his wyff children or any vthers to have
 accesse to speack to him while ffarther order from the Counsell or my
 lord chancellor

Extractum per mea Pet: Wetherburn

My lord Provost

Archbald
Joh[n]stoune
sometyme of
Waristoune
comitted.

According to the Counsellis order Thes ar to give you warrand to receive the Body of Archbald Jonstoun some tymes of warristoune ffrom Captaine william blaike capt of on of his majesties freigets, whom he is to deliver to you at Leith, upon yōr receate under yōr hand and to bring him to the tolbutth of Edr and keip him ther in closse firmance till the counsellis further order . . . the 8th day of June 1663

Sic Sub Glencairne Cansalaris

[Warriston's
two
daughters
and his
servant to
visit him.]

Permitt Rachell Johnstoune and Margerat Johnstoune daughters to Archbald Johnstone laite of Wairistoune to goe wⁱⁿ the tolbuith and stay w^t y^r father vntill 10 of the clock att night Lykewyse permitt Williame Johnstoune his servant to goe in to him and stay all nyt w^t him And this shalbe your warrand. Given vnder my hand this 8th June 1663

Sic Sub Glencairne Can^{ll}arius

June 20th 1663

a letter for
the gudman
from Mr
Geo: McKin-
zie concern-
ing Mathew
Mofett.

Ane letter ffrom Mr George McKenzie derset to the goodman of the tolbuith as follows :—Goodman of the tolbuith I ordeaned the other day Bogges to pay one of your prissoners a groat a day. ye sould nott receive a prissoner till first the inbringer of theme find cāne to pay his expenses I intreat you suffer y^t poore creture nott to sterve. I will indevor to sie you payed Att leist I will suffer no indytment to be redagt him till ye be payed. Your affectionet ffriend

sic sub Mr Geo McKenzie

[The prisoner referred to was Mathew Moffat incarcerated on June 1 charged with 'burneing of the place of Munckland.' Moffat was miller of Monckland milne, and the charge was at the instance of James Hamilton of Dalzell.]

July 1st 1663

Loving freind

Robert
fforrett
Clerk of
Culrose re-
leived.

Vpon sight heirotf imaidiattlie efter sight heirotf lett y^e persone of Robert fforrett clerk of Culrose be putt att liberttie outt of the tolbuith and this shalbe yōr warrand. given vnder my hand this 1th July 1663

Sic sub Rothes

July 4th 1663

. . . Kaitherine Reid . . . for steilling of certaine goods . . . is adjudged . . . to be takine vpon wedinsday nixt being the 8th July instant betwixt 2 & 4 hōrs in the efternoone to the Castillhill of Edr and yr to be hanged one a gibbet till she be dead and hir goods to be escheit These ar yrfoir . . .

Kaitherine
Reid hanged
for steilling.

[See also *Records of Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

July 18th 1663

. . . Bessie Brabboner . . . was found guiltie . . . of the murther of hir owne chyld . . . therefor . . . is adjudged to be taiken upon tewsday nixt being the twintie ane of this instant betwixt twa & four in the after noone to the castall hill of Edr and ther to be hanged upon a gibbet till shee be deid . . .

Bessie Brab-
boner hanged
for child
murder.

[Edinbr 17 July 1663. Bessie Brebner accused for the murder of a child, begot in fornication, by stopping the mouth and stiffling it in token of her guiltiness, which not only she concealed, but when she was with child, and was challenged, did swear the contrary before the minister and Elders, did bring furth the child privately without a midwife, and after the murder, clandestinely burried the child, and being conscious of her guilt fled, and after apprehension ingeniously confest, where-through it appears she is art and part of the murder, which being found by an Assize, she ought to be punished in terror and example of others. . . . This Pannell confesses the Dittay judicillie with tears, and craves God pardon, and is found Guilty and sentenced to be hanged. *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i.—Scot. Hist. Socy. Bessie was admitted to the Tolbooth on the 16th.]

[July 23rd 1663]

Apud Edr July 8 1663

fforasmuch as the esteats of parlā^t by ther sentence hathe found y^t Ar^d Jonstoune leat of waristoune hath comitted the cryme of treason agst the Kings majestie his soverayaine authrōtie and royall goverment And that the Kings majestie w^t advyce & concent of the sds estaits of parlā^t hes deearned and ordained him to underly the paine and

Archibald
Johnstoune
(Lord Warri-
stoun) exe-
cuted.

punishment dew to traitors as at maire lenth is contained in the sentence off forfaulters ; Daited at Edr the fyftein day of may 1661 yeirs, And the s^d Archibald Jonston leat off waristone being now sent into Scotland to the end he may be proceided with according to law, and justice Therfor the Kings majestie with advice & consent of his estaits of parlā^t doe ordaine that he be hanged to death at the crosse of Edr upon wedensday the twintie twa day of this instant July, about twa of the clock in the afternoone as a traitore ags^t his majestie and therafter his heid be cutt off and afixed vpon the neither bow of Edr and ther to remaine untill ffarther order be given theranent And ordaines the majestrats of Edr to sie the sentence put to execution

Sic Sub

Glencarne cansal

I P D

Par

the gudeman received
the warrand

[Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, one of the martyrs of the covenant, admitted advocate in 1633, elected clerk to the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, represented Midlothian in the Estates of Parliament in 1643, parliamentary commissioner to Westminster in 1644, succeeded Sir Thomas Hope as lord advocate in 1646, and resided in Warriston Close which still bears his name. Having accepted office under Cromwell as Clerk-Register his arrest was ordered at the Restoration. He took refuge first in Holland then in France, but was discovered at Rouen and brought back a prisoner.

Ane gallows of extraordinar lenght quhairon he wes to be hangit wes prepared and set up at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, and at twa hours in the afternune he wes brocht furth out of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to the place of execution. After being hanged his head wes stricken off, and hung up upone the Netherbow. *Nicoll's Diary.*]

Kirkcubryt
Women
Jean Peny
widow
Agnes Max-
vell Marion
Broun
Christian
McCavies
Janet Biglaw
releived.

Agust 13th 1663

The Lords of his majesties privie counsell doe heirby give warrand & comand to the majestrats of the burgh of Edr or keeper of the tol-
buth yrof To set at libertie Jean Peny [or Reany] widdow in Kirkcubryt
Agnes maxvell Marion Broun Cristian McCavies and Janet Biglaw in-
dwellers yr who ar imprissoned w^{tin} the tolbutth of the sd burgh ffor
ther guilt & accession to the leat tumult comitted at Kirkcudbryt

who have inacted themselves in the bŭks of privie counsell to fullfill the sentence of counsell pronounced agst them for ther said offence

Sic. Sub. Pet. Wedderburn

[Brought from Dumfries and incarcerated in Edinburgh Tolbooth on June 4, 1663.]

[August 17th 1663]

The Lord Comissioner & lords of articells having considered ane ^{Jon Mure} reporte of examina^{oun} of Jon Mure naturall son to Lev^t Collonell Wam^m ^{releived upon the 17th day of agust 1663 yeirs.} Mure maid be Sir Robert Murray comissioner ffor the bourgh of Edr and Wam^m Cuninghame commissr for the burgh of Aire doe heirby ordaine the majestrats to ta(ke) the said Jon mure inacted vnder the paine of death that he shall present himselfe to the Duke of Ormond Deputie of Irland betwixt & the first day of October nixtocom and after inacting himself as aforēsd To sett him at libertie out of the sd tolbutth that he may goe for Irland to the effect above written

Sic Sub Glencairn Cansal. I.P.D.

John mure aforēsd did in obedience to the above written order inact himself in the toun counsell bukes of Edr w^{ch} act is extant ther of deat the 17th day of agust 1663 ^{John Mure acted in the toun buks of Edr agust 17. 1663.}

Sic Sub Baylly george Reid

[August 27th 1663]

At Edr ye 25th day of August 1663 yeirs Annent a petitione presented be John Ewart younger burges of Kirkcudbryt shewing yt qrefter 12 weikes imprisonment the petitioner is sentanced to banishment And y^t wⁱⁿ 20 dayes to be obayed being hartellie grived for his omission and oversight in keipping his house the tyme of ye laite vnhappie tumult at Kirkcudbryt the cause of this his sadd sentence. Which as it is ane mater almost iff not altogidder impossible to gett performed wⁱⁿ such tyme He being att such ane distance from his relatione and intrist that his going home and returneing will neir exhoust ye time prescribed w^{out} any tyme att all aither to settle his petty concernements att home or to make provisiōe for his banishment So also will ye said sentence in all appeirance be in itself the ^{John Ewart releived, laite proveist of Kirkcudbryt.}

totall rewing of ye petitioners fay^r his affairs w^t ye manadgement groff y^e petitioner is intrusted. Because of his incapacitie threw infirmettie and old age for y^e samyne So likewyse y^e brecking of himself y^e distructione of his bodie having beine subject to ane consumptione this severall yeirs past, the hazarding of his wiffe vnto daith being w^tin verie few dayes of hir delyverie will also be y^e scatering of his six weke and young childring the eldest being but 9 yeirs of age and not able to putt one hir awne clothes And of sadd prejudices by and outtōur the lose of y^e petitioners heruest will in all apperance suffer threw the said sentence iff not prevented and therfoir humbly desireing that in considder[ati]one of y^e premiss the said sentence of banishment may be takine off or at leist the exicutione yroff prorogat and conteinoud that y^e petitioner may be in some meassoure inabled to give obadiance therto as the petitione bears Qūlk petitione being att lenth hard red and considdered The Lords of his matties privy counsell have conteinoud and heirby conteinoudes and prorogattes y^e exicutione of y^e s^d sentance of banishment agst the suplicant quhile y^e first march nixtocome and gives warrand and order to y^e Majestrattes of Edr or keipper of the tolbuith yroff to sett y^e suplicant to liberttie who hath found cōne acted in y^e bookes of privy counsell to keipe his matties peace in y^e meantime . . . *Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne*

[Kirkcudbryt
men Alexr
McCleane
Alexr Kerch-
toun re-
leived.]

[On the same date were releived 'Alexr. McLeane and Alexr. Keirch-
toun burgeses in Kerkcubryt' after having 'given band and cāne
acted in y^e bookes of privy counsell that they shall leave (live) peaceablie
and act nothing in prejudice of his mātties goverment.'

Ewart and two others, John Carson of Senick and Williame Ironet
of Litlepark described as 'Kirkcudbryt men' were brought from
Dumfries and imprisoned in the Edinburgh Tolbooth on June 2, 1663.]

October 5th 1663

Williame
Dods exicute.

Williame Dods sometime in Kelhūpe hanged on the Castle hill for
'ye slaughter of Androw hardie in Tūllosheils.'

[This murder was libelled as committed in Novr 1640. Dods was
accused of having laid wait for his victim and of having stabbed him
with a dirk. See account of proceedings in *Records of the Justiciary
Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

October 7th 1663

My Lord proveist

You are to cause the goodman of your tolbuith receve Mr Robert fergusone laite minister of Butle ffrom y^e sairgent or musketeirs who war appoynted to bring him prissoner to Edr and cause keipe him in close prissone till ffarder order. . . . Givin att Edr the 6th October 1663

Mr Robert fergusone laite minister at butle comitted etc.

Sic sub Rothes

[M. of Buittle in the Presb. of Kirkcudbright.]

October 14th 1663

Permitt Mr Robert fergusone laite minister of B^u now prissoner in your custody to have y^t ffavour as to admit his freinds to viseit him not exceiding 2 att one time As als his servant to attend him. . . .

Swinton's servant releived.

Sic Sub Glencairne Can¹¹

November 14th 1663

Edr 23th October 1663

Goodman of the tolbuith yow shall sett at liberttie y^e servant of John Suintoune of Suintoune who was putt in prissone as a quacker she paying all dewes. . . .

Sic Sub Sir Andro Ramsay
proveist

December 3th 1663

At Edenburg the first day of november instant 1663 upon ane pet[it]ione presented to the Lords of his matties privy counsell be Mr Robert fergusone prissoner in ye tolbuith of Edr he being willing to appeir befor the counsell whenever requyred etc. And att lenth being hard red seine and considdered He is releived furth of ward as ffollowes etc. The Lords of his matties privy counsell doe ordeane the majestrattes or keipper of y^e tolbuith of Edr to sett y^e petitioner to libertie furth yroff In reguaird he hes inacted himselff in y^e bookes of Privie Counsell to leive peaceablie and nott to transgress y^e act of parliāt and privy Counsell maid for setling of ye chūrge (*sic*) goverment vnder y^e respective paines yrin conteaned and to reenter his person in prison when he shalbe called

Mr Robert fergusone laite minister att butle releived etc.

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

December the fyfth 1663 being Satterday

Lauchleine
Mcintosh
died Dec.
fyft 1663.

Lauchlen Mcintosh departed this present lyfe within the tolbuith of Edr about 3 aclock

December 22 1663

Barbra Maine
executt.

Barbra Maine adjudged ' to be taine upon the thirtie of December . . . to the castell hill . . . and ther to be hanged ' for ' the murther of hir own chyld '

December 29th 1663

McCloud of
Ashen re-
leived Decr.
31th 1663.

At Edr y^e first day of Dec 1663 yeirs annent a petitione presentted be Neill McCloud of Ashene mentioning yt he hes beine prisoner wⁱⁿ the tolbuith of Edr moer thane thrie yeirs vpon groundles reassons and alledgences of his accessione to y^e betraying of y^e laite Marquis of Montrose By w^{ch} imprisonment he is redacted to yt conditione by seiknes y^t it is imposible to escape daith Iff he remaine any longer in y^t place and therfoir craveing to be sett att liberttie vpon sufficeant surety for his appeirance whenever he shalbe called and to have ye liberttie of the Citty of Edr and some feilds aboute it for recovering of his helth which petition togidder w^t ane testificat vnder y^e hands of doctars Cunynghame and Hay Being hard and considered vpon ye 24th No^ver last The Lords of privy Counsell did appoynt Sir Robert Murray of Cameron kny^t to veiset ye petitioners conditione and to repoir^t who having accoirdinglie this day maid his repoir^t and the sds Lords having considered the same w^t y^e saids doctors testificats of ye daingeroussnes of the suplicants deseise Have ordeaned and heirby ordeans the Majestrattes of Edr or Keipper of y^e tolbuith of y^e samyn To sett y^e suplicant p^{nt}ttlie to liberttie furth yroff In reguaird the petitioner haith found sufficeant c^{ane} acted in the bookes of Counsell to reenter his persone in prisone wⁱⁿ the sd tolbuith whenever he shalbe requyred And in the meane tyme he shall confyne himself wⁱⁿ the Citty of Edr vnder the paine of Tuentie thousand p^{unds} Scottis Conforme to the act of Council maid yranent.

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

January 1st 1664

Hendrie henderson of cleat deceised vpon the first day Janvary
abovsd who was prissoner within the tolbuith of Edr wherupon Baylly
walter Borthwik befor severall witnesses caussed oppen his coffine
& vncover his face who was seine & declared befor the sd Baylly
& alexr peetter clark to Sir Wam thomson that he was the same
who was prissoner wthin the tolbuith. . . .

hendrie
henderson
his death.

February the tent 1664

The Lords of his majestes privy Counsell ordaines that [James]
Smart and [blank] Haistie prisoners in the tolbutth of Edr be imediatlie
laid in the irons and kept thairin till further order and recomends to
the majestrats of Edr to caus this order be punctually obeyed

Smart and
Heastie laid
in irons.

Sic Sub Pet Wedderburne

[Smart had been committed to prison on 3rd February charged
with robbery.]

February 22th 1664

Mr Williame Hooome now minister att Aytton wardet by captione
att y^e comand of Baillie penman And att y^e instance of George Bell
elder mar^d (merchant) in Dunce. . . .

Mr William
Hooome
minister at
Aytton
wardet.

[Afterwards m. of Loudoun, or Newmills.]

March 13 1664

ffor the lord provest & Bayllys of Edr or Keeper of the tolbutth

Ye sall imediatlie efter sight heirof receive in saiff custodie conform
to the act of para^t 1661 the person of Captaine Jon Swyntone baylly
at Corstorphine, and thereafter ay and q^u he bee liberatt by order
of his majesties justice generall or deputs, Given under my hand at
carstorphine the 13th day of March 1664

Captaine
John Swyn-
tone wardet.

Sic Sub Jon lord forrester

March 16 1664

John Swyn-
tone close
prisoner.

Robert Murray godman of y^e tolbutth of Edr

You ar heirby desired to keipe John Swintone close prisoner till
ffarder order and y^t none do goe to him but ministers & such vyrs as
ar appoyntted to examine him about y^t voyld [? violent] murder of his
wiffe. . . .

Sic Sub Rothes

March 19th 1664

Jannett
Broun for
Murther.

Measars and officers of y^e Justice court

fforasmuch as y^r ar some presumptiones y^t Jannat Broun widow
in curstorfing is accessarie and airt & p^t w^t John Swintone of y^e horeid
murder of ye deceist Margerat Cunynghame spous to the sd John
vpon the 12th march instant You shall therfoir vpon sight heiroff
pass and apprehend the sd Jannat Broun and bring hir allong and
deliver hir vnto the majestrats of the brugh of Edr Who ar heirby
required to take hir aff yor hands and keipe hir in close prisone vntill
thursday nixt wⁱⁿ the tolbuith of Edr. . . .

Sic Sub Rothes

March 29th 1664

Lord For-
rester and
John Cun-
ynghame to
speik to John
Swinton.

Ye ar to permitt the Lord fforrester and John Cunynghame writter
to the signett to speik to John Swintone now prisoner in the tolbuith
of Edr. . . .

Sic Sub Glencairne Can^{ll}

Aprile 14th 1664

Mr of the tolbuith

[Mr Rob^t.
Swintone to
visit John
Swintone.]

You shall permitt mr Robert Swintone to viseit John Swintone
and to talk w^t him etc.

Sic Sub John Cunynghame

Aprile 15th 1664

[Mr W^m.
Tillidaff and
Mr. John
Pitcairne
incarcerat.]

Mr Williame Tillidaff minister at [blank] & mr John Pitcairne
etc incarcerat by order of the Lords of y^e high Comissione of the Kirk
of Scotland & brought in be Androw Douglass meassar

[Tillidaff was m. of Dunbog in the Presb. of Cupar.]

Aprile 16th 1664

Att comand of Baillie Borthick

Messingers of Armes or Justice offrs fforasmuch as the 21th day of Jannat this instant is appoynted be vs his majesties justices for the tryell of John Swintoune and Jannat Broun in Curstorping y^r guiltines of y^e aledget crime of murther of vmqll Margerat Cunynghame spous to the said John And of y^r aledget adulterie mentioned in y^r indytment ye shall therfoir vpon sight heiroff pas & apprehend the sd Jannat Broun grever she can be apprehendet and bring hir to y^e b^{ur}^h of Edr and deliver hir to y^e majestrattes yroff who are heirby required to take hir aff yor hands and keipe hir in sure prisone wⁱⁿ y^e tolbuith till she be tryed for y^e saids crymes and liberat by order And James Lord fforrester wⁱⁿ whose bounds the sd Jannat duells and all justices of peace constables & vyrs whome it effeirs ar heirby required to be a[i]d- ing and assisting to you in the premiss. . . . And in caice the sd Jannat cannot be personallie apprehendet y^t y^e comand and chairge the sd James Lord fforrester & his comrs. to present y^e sd Jannat befoir his matties justices wⁱⁿ y^e space of 48 hōrs nixt iff they be chairged as they who ar bund to doe y^e samyne q^usoever they ar required w^t certificāne if they failzie the justices will proceid and declair y^r band of cāne foirfault

Sic Sub John Cunynghame

Apryll 23 1664

I William Tempell chirurgeon Burges in Edr being called to sie the legs & feet of James Smart prissoner in the iron hous of the tol-
buth, and lying in irons, after that I had vissited his legs and feet, fund vpon his left lege at the joynt of his a[n]ckell bone, ane gangrain insewing vpon the tarsses and [word indistinct] of the joynts lyk as vpon the ryt lege and foote a swelling w^t a great quaggallat bloode lying vpon the tarsse and mitta tarse, The w^{ch} I testyfie to be a veritie befor thir witness Edward Hill clarke ther and Hendrie montieith day & deat forsd

Sic Sub william tempell

Ed Hill witnes Hen: monteith witnes

Bayllyes of Edr

James
Smarts
warr^t for
releiving
foorth of
irons 1664.

Becaus it apeirs by the testimony of william tempell chirurgeon that James Smarts feit ar gangrain and swelled Upon seight of thir pñts you shall caus him be taiken furth of irons and suffer medicens to be adhibit to his leggs. Dilligent cair notwithstanding beeing taiken that he continoue in firm prisson till order be taiken anent him and this shalbe yo^r warrand Edr 25th apryll 1664

Sic Sub John Cuninghame

[April 29th 1664]

My lord provest & Byllyes of Edr

A warrand
for the execu-
toun of John
Swynton.

Forasmuch as in ane Court of Justiciary holdene within the tol-
buth of Edr upon the twintie ane day of apryll instant John Swynton
Baylly off corstorphine being found guiltie of the murther off um^q^{ll}
Margrat Cuninghame, his spous, was adjudged be me his majesties
justice deput To be taiken upon wedensday the fourth day off May nixt
betwixt two & four houres in the afternoone to the markate cross of
Edr And ther to have his heade strucken from his boddie weh was
pronounced for doome. Ye shall therfor caus put the said sentence
to dew executioun Quhairanent thir pñts shall be yor warrand at
Edr the twintie third day of apryll 1664

Sic Sub John Cuninghame

[For an account of the proceedings in this case see also *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

June 7th 1664

Argylls head
taine doune.

Thes ar ordering you with all heast to taik doune the marques of
argylls heid and give it to the laird of arbruchell the bearer heiroff,
ffor I have instantlie received his majesties comand for the same Taik
wreights or skletters helpe as ye shall have neid Let it be done w^t
quyetnes. *Sic Sub* Androw Ramsay provest

for the gudman of the tolbuith

I acknowledge that I have received the marques of argylls heid
ffrom the gudeman of the tolbuith conform to the order above written

Sic Sub

C. Campbell

June 17th 1664

At comand of Baillies Boyd & Borthick

At Edinburgh 16th June 1664 Annent a petitione presented in Jannat Broun name and behalff of Jannat Broun Beareing that she being proessed ^{releived.} befor the justices for aledget adultry comitted with y^e deceist John Swintone she was putt to ane assise who be y^e verdict did nott find hir guiltie of notorious adultry meariting daith be y^e law and haveing formerlie suplicat yo^r Lo/ ffor inlairgment it pleased the Lords of Councill to ordeane hir to be wheipt and seeing y^t such ane ignominious censure will procure nothing les yⁿ hir everlasting disgrace and be the means of the outter rewine of hir and hir poore fatherles childring humblie therfore desireing the foirs^d censure may be rescinded and she ordeaned to be putt to libertie as the petitione bears Quhilke petitione being att lenth hard red and considered The Lords of his matties privy Councill doe dischaarge and rescind the former act of Councill of the daite the 9th of this instant appointing the petitioner to be wheipt and in plaice of y^e s^d punishement ordeanes hir to pay ane hundreth merks for y^e vse of y^e poore of y^e parish of Curstorping and saitesfie the church for y^e scandell and ordeanes y^e majestrattes of Edr to sett hir to libertty furth of y^e tolbuith of the s^d burgh in regaird she hes fund cāne acted in the books of counill to y^t effect

Sic Sub

Pet: Wedderburne

[See also *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

July 3th 1664

Att comand of Baillie Borthick

Whereas it is informed y^t y^r came in to Saltcots ane veshell w^t ane ^{Pirrets} number of persons yrin lodned w^t ane number of clothes and vyr ^{4 Englishmen} suspect goodes who being chalinged be y^e Erle of Eglingtonne some ^{comitted as} of y^m hes confesed and ar imprissoned and the rest ar escaipted and ^{pirrets.} ar now in vyr p^{ts} of y^e kingdome These are yrfoir to give warrand to John Muntgumerie and James Dunbar to search for y^e hail persones who cam in w^t y^e sd veshell and to apprehend and secure yr perssones

in the tolbuith of Edr vntill the bussines be farder tryed & examened
Givene att Leith this second July 1664

Sic Sub Mr John Stewart
admirall deputt

July 15 1664

James Smart
releived.

My Lord justice clarke & justice deputs ordaine and gives heirby
warrant to the majestrats of Edr to put the peitōr James Smarte to
libertie furth of the tolbutth in respect he hes found caution in the buks
of adjournall to apeire the first day of no^r nixt or sooner vpon a law¹¹
citatioun of fyftein dayes To underlay the law for all such things as
shalbe laid to his chearge under the paine of ane thousand marks

Sic Sub J homes John Cuninghame

Jully 18 1664

Sir

Jon Logane
incarcerat for
murther of
his woman
in Leith.

Be pleased to receive the person of John Logane and committ
him to close prissone ffor the murthering of his servitrix and confesed
be him to us as ye may perceive by the inclosed. this 17th Jully
1664

Sic Sub George Reid baylly

August 5th 1664

Majestrates
of Jedburgh
comitted.

Robert Murray, Receive the persones of John Rutherfurde proveist
James McCubie and Mr John and Williame Brouns bailleis of Jed-
burgh and secure y^m in prissone in the tolbuith of Edr while the Privy
Councill give further order

Sic Sub Rothes

Edr 5th day of August 1664

Majestrates
of Jedburgh
releived.

The Lords of his matties privy Councill having consideret y^e
desire of the Erle of Louthiane for liberttie to be grantted to y^e provest
and bailleis of Jedburgh furth of ye tolbuith of Edr q^r they are in-
carcerat ffor ane ryot and wrang comitted vpon the s^d Erle in demol-
leishing his park dyk Doe att y^e earnest desire of the s^d Erle ordeane

the proveist and Bailleis of Edr or keiper of the tolbuith thereoff furthwith vpon sight heiroff to sett y^e s^d proveist and Bailleis of Jedburgh to liberttie for qlk these p^{nts} shalbe a warrand

Sic Sub

Pet: Wedderburne

August 20th 1664

Edr the 9th of August 1664

The Lords of his matties privy Councill being informed that y^r is Richard ane Richard fergusone apprehendet be the majestrats of Drumfreis and imprissoned wⁱⁿ y^e tolbuith ffor venting and dispoussing of fals coyne dow in order to his farder tryell Ordean the saids majestrattes to transpourt him to Ed prissoner And ordeanes Robert Murray Keipper yroff to receive him af y^r hands

Richard fergusone for fals coyne.

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

[Indyted 25th January 1665]

August 31th 1664

At Edr the 18th August 1664 yeirs anent a petitione presented be Williame Dobie prissoner in the tolbuith of Edr humbly craving that his wretched and meiserable conditione might be takine to consideratione & comeiseratione haveing beine prissoner this yeir & a halff in ane most sadd and sterving conditione and y^t he may be putt to liberttie and suffered to be att freadome the day tyme that he may indevor to wine some thing by his calling for mantēing him his poore wyff who ar att y^e poynt of sterving, vpon caūne to retorne nightlie to prissone as the petitione bears which being at lenth hard & consideret The Lords of his matties privy Councill allowes the petitioner to be att liberttie out of prissone everie day from eight of the clock in the morning till eight of the cloek att night to y^e effect he may worke for his lyvelyhoode he finding caūne under y^e paine of ane thousand punds Scotis to enter in prissone ever nyt att 8 a clock at nyt and gives warrand to the keiper of the tolbuith of Edr to suffer the petitioner to goe out & come in att the hours fors^d qlk caūne y^e petitioner hath accordingly found acted to y^e effect f^s^d

Williame Dobys liberttie for the day tyme.

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

September 3th 1664

Sir

Ther is heir ane vyr of the compleices of the piritts come to yo^r hands
 Allow him as the rest and place it to the accompt of yo^r freind &
 servant

Sic Sub Mr John Stewart

September 6th 1664

Majestrats of
 Lithgow
 releived.

The Lords of his matties privy Councill ordeanes Robert Murray
 Mr of the tolbuith of Edr to sett Gavin Marshall Alexr and Robert
 Milles att liberttie fourth yroff They paying to Major Hamletoune
 the soume of Two hundreth merks consigning y^e samyn in the
 hands of the clerk of Councill which soumes the saids perssones have
 accordinglie consigned

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

September 29th 1664

Barbara
 Drumond for
 aledget
 witchcraft.

fforasmuch as we his mätties justice deputtes ar informed y^t y^r is
 ane Barbara Drumond spous to Williame Robertsons in Tennendrie of
 Killbryd who is prissoner att Dumblane vpon suspitione and pre-
 sumptione of witchcraft and sorcerie being comitted be the justices of
 peace in these bounds who now desyre she may be brought to ane tryell
 These yrfoir ar to require you the Bailleis of the regallettie of Dum-
 blaine That in all conveinancie ye cause transpourt w^t ane sure guaird
 the sd Barbara Drumond to the bur^h of Stirling and deliver hir to the
 majestratts yroff who ar also required to take hir aff yo^r hand and to
 cause convie hir to the bur^h of Linlithgow and deliver hir to the
 majestratts yroff who ar heirby required to take hir and transport hir
 to the bur^h of Edr and deliver hir with this warrand to the majestratts or
 to Robert Murray Keiper of the tolbuith : who ar also heirby required
 to accept of hir and putt hir in sure prissone till she be putt to ane
 legall tryall or vyrrwayes liberat by order qrannent yr pnts shall be to
 you and ilk ane of you ane sufficeant warrand Givine att Edr 17th
 September 1664

Sic Sub John Cunynghame

[See also under date December 23, 1664.]

November 2 1664

At Edr 15th Septer 1664

The Lords of his mätties privy Councill having consideret y^e 6 Englishmen
desire of the pet[it]ione of Robert Poule James & Nathaniell Busheles ^{pirets re-}
Daniall Jordane John Woode & John Piple seamen prissoners for ^{leived.}
present in y^e tolbuith of Edr Doe hearby ordeane the majestratts
of the burgh of Edr to sett ye foirs^d persones to liberttie and cause
delyver y^m att Leith to Thomas Muncreiff to be shipt and sent to
Londone in the Inglish service

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

[November 11th 1664]

Edr the tenth of Nov^r 1664

The Lords of his majesties privie Counsell having considered the ^{Archibald}
desyr of the petitioun of Archibald Hendry prissoner in the tolbutth of ^{Hendrie}
Edr for selling & venting off Warristons speich and severall vy^r sed- ^{releived.}
ditionous peapers and pamphellets Ordaines the majestrats of the s^d
burgh to set him to liberty in regaird he hath inacted himselfe in the
books of Counsell that he shall never hereafter sell or vent any of
warristons speeches or vther seditious befactious peapers or pam-
phelets, under the paine of banishment and being burnt on the cheike
w^t ane hott yron

*Sic Sub. Pet: Wedderburne*Nov^r 17 1664Edr. the 3th day of nov^r 1664

The Lords of his majesties privy Counsell doe heirby authorise ^{Antony}
and requyre [blank] Scot younger of langshaw shireff deput of Rox- ^{Hague}
burgh to apprehend the persons of Antony Hague of Bimersyd and ^{received}
androw robison quakers and to send them prissoners to the Tolbutth of ^{prisoner.}
Edr. . . .

*Sic Sub Pet wedderburn*Nov^r 28th 1664

By order and comand of Baylly Drumond Archibald newall pren- ^{Archibald}
tice to Cap^t David Boyd mer^d burges in Edr was at seivein a clock trans- ^{newall sent}
ported from the tolbutth of Edr to the Tolbutth of the Cannagait which ^{to the tolbutth}
of Canagait.

was delivered to Androw Jonstoun patrick anderson and George bell officers at the sd baylly his comand and order therfor

Nov^r 29th 1664

prentises
releived.

Ther was incarcerat in the tolbutth of Edr fryday last thes young men viz^t James steill Donckan m^cintosh and James Ruthvan also ther was this afternoone on Robert Hannay which prissoners above sd was not in my hous as by thes pnts Declair at Edr the 29th of Nov^r 1664

Sic Sub James Cockburn
Thomas moncreif

By the above wreaten yor lo/ will perceive that thes persons named therin did not enter the hous of James Cockburn Therfor let them be set at libertie Daited this 29th off nove^r 1664

Sic Sub Rothes

Deer. 16th 1664

Edr 15th Dec 1664

Mr John
Spreule
releived.

The Lords of his m^atties privy Councell taking to y^r considerōune That mr John Spreule laite clerk of Glasgow having beine cited beffoir the Commissione for Church affaires To answer for his Disobeidiance and Disaffectione to y^e goverment y^rby establieished He for eviting the sentance of the said Judicature Did for some tyme w^ddraw himselff out of the cuntrie and having privitlie returned did carie himselff most suspitiouslie by travelling secretly from place to place in the nyt tyme ffor w^{ch} being apprehendet and brocht beffoir the saids Lords of privy Councill and the oath of alledgance being by y^m tendered vnto him he refused the samyn alledging y^t he had nott freadome to signe the samyn by reasone of the ty y^t lay vpon him by the oath of the covenant Q^rvpon the saids Lords judging it unjust y^t any persone sould have the bennifeit of his matties protectione and enjoy the libertties of a frie subject who sould refuse to give y^r oath of alledgence Have y^rfoir ordeaned and by these pⁿts ordeanes the s^d mr John Spreule to enact himselff under y^e paine of daith to remove oute of the kingdome betwixt and the first day of febury nixt to come and nott to returne y^rto w^tout licence frome his m^attie his m^atties Comissioner or Lords of privy Councill and ordeanes him to find caūne vnder the paine of

two thousand pundis to live peaceablie in the meane tyme till his removeall and nott come w^{thin} six myles of Glasgow Conforme y^rto the said mr John Spreule haith enacted himself and found caūne acted in the books of Councell to the effect foirs^d q^rfoir they have ordeaned and ordeanes the majestrattes of Edr or keipper of the tolbuith y^r off To sett the said mr John Spreule to libertty fourth of the s^d tolbuith for wch these presents shalbe a warrand Extra per me
sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

[December 23rd 1664]

Edr 22th day of Dece 1664

The Lords of his majesties privy Counsell have granted a comission to severall persones for trying and judging Barbra Drumond spous to william Robison in tenentry of Kilbryd as suspect guilty of witchcraft charming and sorcery Doe in order to hir said tryall ordaine hir to be transported from the tolbutth of Edg^h to the tolbutth of Stirling and ordaines the majestrats of Edr or Keeper of the tolbutth therof to deliver hir to any person having the extract heiroy to transport hir and ordaines the majestrats of Stirling to receive the s^{ds} barbra prissoner & to detaine hir in sur firmance untill she be condemned or acquit by order of law

Barbra
Drumond
releived &
sent to
Stirling.

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

[Edinb^r 20 December 1664. The Justice Depute declares that he was discharged be the Lords of the Privy Counsell to proceed ag^t Barbara Drummond for the alledged Witchcraft, in regard the Privy Counsell had remitted her to be tryed in her own Countrey. *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

January 6th 1665

Edr 5th of Jany 1665

John Jonston releived as ffolows at comand of Baylly Davidson. The lords of his majesties privy counsell having considered ane supplica^{oun} presented be John Jonston m^{er}^d prissoner within the tolbutth of Edr For having the libertie of the cittie of Edr and some mylls about it for recovery of his health vpon caution to compeire & ans^r when he shalbe called Doe ordaine the majestrats of Edr or keeper of

John Jonston
releived.

the tolbutth of Edr to set the suplicant to liberty he finding caution under the paine of Three thousand pund Scotts not to goe without two mylls of Edr To compeire & ans^r when ever he shalbe called and dewring the tym of his libera^oun to live peiceably and loyally : Which caution the suplicant hath accordinglie found

Sic Sub

Pet: Wedderburne

January 19th 1665

My lord provest & bayllyes of Edr

Patrick
McGreigor
execut Jary
25th 1665.

fforasmuch as patricke McGreger now prissoner w^tin the tolbutth of Edr was in ane court of Justiaciary holden withine the s^d burgh vpon the 17th day of j^ary instant Decerned and adjudged by us To be taine vpon wedensday the 25th of this instant to the Marcat crosse of Edr and ther betwixt two and four hours in the afternone To be hanged vpon ane gibbet till he be dead As he who was found by ane assyse to be guilty and culpable as airt and pairt of the steilling of the Lininge cloth furth of the dwelling hous of James Provan in Inchbellie mentionat in his dittay Ye shall therfor caus put the said sentence to dew executioun Wheranent thes p^{nt}s shalbe y^or warrand Given att Edg^h the 17th day of J^ary 1665

Sic Sub Jo home John Cuninghame

[See also account in the *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

Janry 21th 1665

Goodman of the tolbuith

Meldrum
dyed in
prisson day
& yeir below
writen.

These ar to desire you to performe every favoure in the behalff of the Laird of Meldrum in relatione to the corpes of his father who is deid in prisson, performe yo^r vswell customes, butt w^t als much discratiōe as posible and suffer such perssones to goe in and out as neidful for y^e ordering of the corpes att anytime of the nyt

Sic Sub

Sir Andro Ramsay proveist

March 12th 1665 Sunday

the names of quakers imprisoned as follows

John Swinton his dochter and son and his twa servants Mathew ^{Quakers in} whytlie John McKenzie ^{prison.} ¹ Richard Fea Andro robisons wyff Jeane Weir Euphame Ramsay Marjory Reid of wch the tenor followes

The Lords of his Majesties privie counsell being informed that ther ar greit multituds of quackers who frequentlie and avowedlie meit together in Edr to the heigh contempt of authoriety and scandell of the professed releidgeon, Doe therfor grant warrand and Comission to the Lord archbishop of Glasgow The Earll of Tweidall The Lord President of the Session advocat and he or any twa of them to meit and consider what cours shalbe taken for suppressing and restraining any such disorderlie meittings And in the meinetye Gives warrand and comand to the majestrats of Edr to seize vpon and imprisson all quakers that shalbe found at any such meittings

Sic Sub Pet: wedderburne

March 13th 1665

John Mill thes ar to requyre you to lett out the laird off Swinton's ^{Swintons} son John ffor as they report he is no quaker ^{young son}

Sic Sub Thomas Calderwod baillie ^{releived.}

You shall upon sight heerof sett at libertie furth of the tolbuith of Edgh Swinton's young sone with his nurs that keeps him. Given at Halyrudehous this 15th of March 1665

Sic Sub Rothes

Aprile 7th 1665

Loving ffriend

Whereas John Swintone is in yo^r custodie in the tolbuith of Edr and ^{Swintone} he being ordered to enter prissoner you shall therfoir deliver him to the ^{quacker re-} Constable of the Castle of Edr to be kept prissoner y^r and this shalbe yo^r ^{leived from} warrand Given vnder my hand att hallyroodehouse this 7th Aprile ^{hence to y^e} 1665 *Sic Sub* Rothes ^{Castle of} ^{Edr.}

I George Gib saigent in the castle of Edr grants me to have received

¹ Relieved by order of Provost Ramsay on 9th October.

the perssone of John Swintone from James Sumervell as prissoner
wthin the s^d Castle this 7th Aprile 1665

Sic Sub Geo. Gib

Aprile 15th 1665

James Innes
releived.
B[ailie]
Calderwoode.

My Lord Proveist and Bailleis of Edr and keipper of y^e tolbuith y^roff
ye shall upon sight heiroff putt James Innes prissoner to liberttie furth
of yor tolbuith, if he be nott incarcerat for any vy^r cause thane the allegt
shootting of ane pistoll or gun, wherat ane coillsteiller in Edr is sd to
have beine killed, In respect he hes lyne long in prisson and yt no
persewer compeirs to insist agst him and y^t he has acted himselff in the
books of adjurnall (nott being able to find cāune) to compeir beffoir his
mātties justice or justice deputtis the first wedensday of nov^r nixt to
come to vnderly the law for the sd allegt cryme vnder ye paine of ane
thowsand merks scottis. . . .

Sic Sub John Cunyngham

Aprile 20th 1665

Mathew
quhitelie felt-
maker &
a quaker
releived.

I Mathew Whitelie feltmaker in Edr by yr pñttis binds & obleiss
me That I shall nott act nor doe anything as a quacker or contrair to
y^e present profest releigione wthin this kingdome of Scotland neither
shall conveyne nor meitt w^t any quacker in any of y^r priveit meittings
wthin the sd kingdome of Scotland, And for y^e performance heiroff I
Livetenant Lindin become cāur & sovertie and bind, and obleiss me
y^t he shall performe y^e samyn In witness groff we have sub^t y^r pñs
att Edr this 20th Aprile 1665 Beffoir y^r witness rēp^{ve} viz to ye sub-
scriptione of y^e sd mathew whitelie John mylne one of the keippers of
y^e tolbuith of Edr and Robert park writter y^r and writter heirof and
John Samell feltmaker in Edr, I Mathew Lindin above designet w^t
my hand att y^e pen led be y^e nottar vndersubscribeand because I
cannott write my selff. . . .

May 30th 1665

Margerat
Hamiletone
execute.

My Lord proveist and Bailleis of Edr fforsameikle as in ane court
of justiciarie haldin wthin the tolbuith of y^e s^d burgh of Edr vpon the
17th Day of May instant Margerat Hamiletone relict of umq^{ll} Robert

Bedfoord in Leith being found guiltie be ane assise of y^e cryme of adulterie w^t Geills Thyer Inglishman survyer in Leith and of y^e murther of the s^d umq^{ll} Robert Bedfoord hir awne husband was adjudget by us to be taine vpon Wedinsday the last May instant to y^e marcat croce of Edr and y^r betwixt tuo & ffoure hors in the efternoone To have hir heid strickine aff from hir bodie ye shall y^rfore cause putt the s^d sentence to dew exicutione q^rannent y^r p^{ntt}is shalbe yor warrand Given att Edr 17th may 1665

Sic Sub

John Cunynghame

[For an account of the trial see *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

June 29th 1665

Honoured Sir

You shall receve fra the keipper of the tolbuith the persson of Robert Robert Bartone & George Mcburney induellers in Drumfreis into yor^r saiffe custodie and order foure of the souldiers in the castill to guaird y^m to Leith and deliver y^m to Collonall Sinclar who is ordered to take thame allong w^t him to Zeatland and this shalbe yor^r warrand Given vnder my hand this 28th June 1665

Sic Sub Rothés

To my Lord Lyon Constable of the castle
of Edr these

November 16th 1665

Elleizabeth Whiteburgh indueller in Leith died vpon the sd 16th nov^r instant Who was incarcerat for alegt murther of David Greg scipper husband to Elleine hendersonne hir daughter

Elizabeth
Whiteburgh
dead.

Nov^r 16th 1665

Sussana Beastoune goodwyffe of y^e Correctionhouse releived furth of ward—[Incarcerated for debt]

Sussana
Beastoune
releived.

Edr 7 December 1665¹

James Gray
John Woode
Patrick
Syme Angus
M^r Lean
Janet Ock-
foord Issobell
Hamilton
& Bessie
Webster
sent to
Barbades.

The Lords of his mätties privy Counsell taking to considderation that thair ar severall prissoners wⁱⁿ the tolbuith of Edgh who off thair awne accord ar desyerus to be sent to Barbaduss doe therfor give warrand and comand to the majestrattes of Edgh to sett att liberttie all prissoners for crymes who off thair awn free will ar content to goe to Barbados and ordeanes thame to be delyvered to George Hutchisone mair^d in Edgh in order to thair transportatione

Sic Sub

Pet: Wedderburne

Whereas thair is ane act of privy Counsell past in favour of George Hutchisone mair^d in Edr ffor transpoirting all prissoners wⁱⁿ the tolbuith of Edr that shall consent by thir pñts and consents to the transportation of ourselves by the sd George to y^e west Indiends As witnes our subscriptiones Edr 12th Decr 1665

Decr. 14 1665

The relict of
Mr James
Gutherie.

My Lord proveist and Baillies of [Edr] y^e shall vpon sight heiroff secure the person of y^e relict of mr James Gutherie and keip hir prissoner in saiff custodie And suffer no person to speike with hir Butt such as the mr of the tolbuith will be ansuerable And this shalbe yo^r warrand Givine vnder my hand att Hollyroodhouse 15th Dec^r 1665

Sic Sub Rothes

[Decr 22th 1665]

John Tod-
shall
Wm. Scott
John Houie
George Sheild
[to Barbados].

You ar heirby required to send the persones of John Todshall, Williame Scott John Houie and George Shield to Leith or buckhavine to be convoyed from thence going to y^e ship going for the Barbados lying in Kirkcaldie road whither they ar ordered to be cairied by sentence of y^e Comissione for Church affairs and heirby required Edward Burd skipper of y^e sd ship to cairie the perssones affoirmed to Barbados ffor doing wheroff y^r pñts shalbe a sufficeant warrand Givin at Edr 19th Decr 1665

Sic Sub Rothes

¹ Although dated 7th December, this extract, and the one immediately following, appear in the original after December 14.

January 2d 1666

These are requireing you upon sight hearoff to sett att liberttie the persone of M^{rs} Gutherie for y^e present prissoner in the tolbuith of Edr she finding suretie y^t she shall ansuer when called. . . . Givin vnder my hand att hollyroodhouse this 30th Decr 1665

Mrs Gutherie
releived.

And sicklike conforme to y^e above wyne warrand John Hamiltoun mair^d burges of Edr and Williame Tode glaisineryt burges y^r hes givin band for hir appeirance vnder the paine of two hundreth puns sterling mony The said band daited the first January 1666 in itself att more lenth bears.

Jany 9th 1666

Vpon ane petitione presentted to his graice his mätties high Comissioner ffor mr Alex^r Smyth close prissoner mentioneing therein his hevee seicknes he being in a cold rowme q^r y^r can be no fyer nor benifeit y^off as the said petitione in it self att moer lenth bears These ar giving warrand to y^e mr of the tolbuith to remove the foirnamed prissoner from y^e plaice he now stayes in to any v^r convenient rounge wⁱⁿ the tolbuith att Hallyroodhouse 9th Janry 1666

Mr Alex^r
Smyths in-
lairgment.

Sic Sub Rothés

[At one time m. of Colvend in the Presb. of Dumfries. Died on the Castle Hill 21st February 1673.]

March 23th 1666

Maister Alex^r Smith minister releived furth of ward as followes
Sir

Mr Alex^r
Smith re-
leived.

It was determined by the Counsell that Mrs guthery and hir davghter should be sent unto Zetland, and afterward referd unto me to be put to executioun as I thought convenient, Thes ar therefor requyring you to deteine the sds Mrs. guthery and hir daughter in the tolbutth, and not to deliver them to the officers of the Calliott to be transported Bot doeth heirby expreslie order you to deliver to my lord oglendwrs Maister Smith minister & any v^r that is apoynted be the counsell to be sent away excepting the sds mrs guthry and hir dauchter and this shalbe yo^r warrand givein vnder my hand at Leslie the 27th of March 1666

[Mrs
Guthery and
her daughter
to be de-
tained.]

Sic Sub Rothés

Aprile 12th 1666

Sir

Robert Arme-
strang &
Anthony Pott
comittet.

Receive heirwt the perssones of Robert Armestrang and Anthony Pott who ar sentenced by the Justice court heir to be sold for slaves in some remote plaice According to the extract of y^e sentence inclosed vnder the clerks hand And for y^t end ar to be delyvered to Baillie Johnstoune and Cap^t Gilespie They satesfieing foure men & two horss for inbringing of y^m as I suppose Baillie Patrick Murray of Deuchar to [sic] told you att whose desire it was they gott y^m So you wald secure thame till they be transpoirted. . . .

yo^r affectionet servent

Sic Sub John Scott

Jedbrugh 10th

Aprile 1666

Sir

Give the Cap^t of y^e ship this extrack of y^e sentence he being ingaidget to observe it ag^t all y^e foure persones whome I intreat you to haist y^m a shipboord as he promised to me nixt weik

Sir

Receve y^e said perssones above nominat in yo^r custodie till they be transpoirted a ship boord

Sic Sub George Suttie Baillie

Aprile 17th 1666

Att Jedbrugh 7th Janry 1666

Robert Arme-
strang &
Anthony Pott
releived [to
be sent to
Barbadoes
and sold as
slaves].

The qlk day Robert Armestrong called hethersgill and Anthony Pott called of heidshoip being indyttet and accused of divers and sundrie poynts of thift and vyrs capittall crymes layed to yr chairges and being be ane condigne assyse ffund culpable and guiltie of the foirsds crymes layed to y^r chairges The Comissioners of the borres have adjudget and ordeaned the foirsds Robert Armestrang and Anthony Pott to be sent to Barbados or vyr remoit plaice And thair to be sold as slaves and never to returne to any of his majesties Dominiones vnder the paine of daith etc. . . .

Sic Sub Williame Crumbie

Apryll 24th 1666

Whereas ther is ane adresse maide to me be Robert Learmonth [Warrant for
merchant in Edr in name of severall vther partners in the ship called ^{transporta-}
the pheonex of Leith James Gibson maister or cap^t Bound for Virginia, ^{tion of}
ffor taking away from this countrey such vagabonds and idell persons ^{prisoners.]}
as is not fitt to stay in this kingdome Thes ar therfor allowing to
receive all such persons and such as ar comdemned for Barbadoas by
the Judge and desyr you to give them yo^r concurance and assistance
in this affaire. And for so doing this shall be yo^r warand. Givein
. . . at Lesslie this seventeenth off Apryll 1666

Sic Sub Rothes

To all Shireffs of Shyres
majestratts of Brughes
and vyrs concernd. Thes

May 4th 1666

Att sight heiroff yow shall delyver y^e perssones of Chairles David- Chairles
sone who is incarcerat wⁱⁿ the tolbuith as ane idle vaigabond and a Davidson,
theiff As also the perssone of James Oglevie who is incarcerat ffor James Og-
the samyn fault And lykewayes the persone of Kaitherine Laird who levie, Cathe-
is in prissone as ane nottorious theiff and hoore As lykewayes the rine Laird
persone of James Sheilds who is in prissone wⁱⁿ the said tolbuith and & James
hath consentted to goe to Virginia To James Gibsone skipper in Leith Sheilds sent
maister of the good ship called the Phenix of Leith who is now presentlie to Virginia.
bound (god willing) for Virginia To the end the foir named persones
may be transportted y^r conforme to y^e generall order grantted be his
Grace my Lord Comissioner ffor y^t effect and y^r p^{ns} w^t James
Gibsones recept shalbe of sufficeant warrand to yow from vs

Sic Sub George Suttie & Alex^r Sandilands

Bailleis

[Receipt by James Gibsone is appended.]

May 9th 1666

Sir

You shall receive this prissoner ane Dutchman and putt him & Adrian Catta
keip him in saiff custodie and prissone as you and I spake Dutchman.

in the moirneing ; and yor expenss shalbe thankfullie payed vnto you by

sir yor syrvaunt

Mr John Stewart

ffor Robert Murray keipper
of the tolbuith of Edr

[Many Dutchmen found their way into the Tolbooth about this period.]

[May 17th 1666]

Mastres
guthrie and
hir dauchter
releived
May 17th
1666.

You ar vpon seight heirof to set at liberty the person of Jean Ramsay the relect the relect (*sic*) of Mr James gutherie and suffia guthery hir daughter, she giving sufficient surtie, That within fourteine dayes after the deat of thir pñts they shall remove themselves to the place of ther confynment within the parish of Brichane in the shirefdom of forfare and this shalbe yor sufficient warrand, Given under my hand at Leslie this twinty aucht day of may 1666

Sic Sub Rothes

ffor Robert Murray
keeper of the tolbuith of Edr
Thes

[May 18th 1666]

Mrs
Gutheries
band of
caūrie.

Rev. william Anderson & W^m Took glasse wry^t Burgesses in Edr Binds and obleidges vs conjunctlie and severallie To y^e proveist Bailleis and Toun Counsell of ye bur^h of Edr As cau^{rs} and soverties for Jeane Ramsay relict of mr James Gutherie and Suffia Gutherie hir daughter That they shall remove y^m selfies to the plaice of y^r confyne-ment wⁱⁿ the parichone of Breichene in the shereffdome of fforfar wⁱⁿ the spaice of fourteine dayes nixt and imeidiatlie efter y^e daite of ane ordour directed be y^e Erle of Rothes etc his mätties Comisioner to Robert Murray keipper of the tolbuith of Edr ffor setting the s^d Jeane Ramsay and hir said daughter to liberttie qlk is of the daite att Leslie 28th may 1666 qr v^{pn} if the saids persones failzie We bind and obleidge vs and aither of vs To enter our perssones in prissone wⁱⁿ the tolbuith of Edr y^{rin} to abayd dureing his mätties comissioner his pleasur and ay and vntill the s^d proveist bailleis and counsell of Edr be sufficeintlie exonerred annent any dellingence of the saids perssones

throw failzieing in y^r obaidiance of the contents of the said ordoure,
 And In caice of failzie fors^d we be y^r p^{nts} declair that y^r p^{nts} shalbe
 sufficeant to ye sd proveist or any ane of the bailleis of the said burgh^h
 as warrand to cause any of y^e ordinary officers apprehend our sd
 persones and comitt ye samyn to prissone in the sd tolbuith w^tout any
 previous or preceiding chaarge or v^r order requesit in fforme of law
 in witnes qroff we have boath sub^t y^r p^{nts} Att Edr the [blank] day of
 [blank] jai vic/ and sixtie six yeirs Beffoir y^r mr Arther fforbes of
 Kilmeany and John Rae wrytter in Edr wrytter hearoff

Sic Sub William Andersone

W^m Took

Mr Arthur fforbes witnes

Jo: Rae witnes

Agust Dumferling 7th 1666

Ryt honorable

We render hearby thanks for yo^r cair & dilligence in causing John Drum-
 aprehend & secure that person John Drumond who leatlie escaped ond sent to
 forth of our tolbutth we have sent our officers Alex^r Innes and James Dumferling
 bruch to bring him back intreating therfor yo will be pleased to de- by the com-
 delivere the prissoner to the sds bearers wha ar to take caire of his saiff and of B.
 convayence hither : and of curtesie and faveir yo^r hōrs has don to us in Suttie
 thes particulare is and shalbe taiken as ane singular ty & obligaⁿ B. Sandilands
 vpon R^t honb^{le} yo^r most affectiounat & loving freinds & nightbours & Baylly
 & very humbell servants jonston.

Sic Sub Will Walker provest Robert walwod baylie

[August 8th 1666]

Alexr Adame releived at the comand of

Baylly Suttie & B. Sandilands as followes

Whereas it is signified to us by grissell atckine spous to alexr adame Alex^r Adame
 in Blacknesse w^tin the parichoun of Caridon y^t ye said alex^r her husband releived.
 is apprehended & imprisoned for stealing as is aledged of two horses
 These are y^rfor to testifie to all herin concerned y^t the fors^d alexr wes
 about twentie yeares agoe distracted of his wite & mad so y^t his neigh-
 boures wer forced to bind him w^t cordes for alonge tyme as alsoe y^t
 he hes bein distracted in maner fors^d for the space of sexe weikes last
 bypast being not perfectly cured as yet soe yt if he hes takine away

aney manes hors it is to be imputed only to his madnes and ase for the one of the fors^d horsses it is declaired to us by david moor in stakes within the fores^d paroch y^t he sold ye same to the s^d alex^r about ayear agoe for sexe punds scotes y^e qch horse for the present is a berrie broune little beast haveing sore back & sydes all yir premisses fors^d cane be testified by maney witnesses In witnes q̄rofe yir p̄nttes are writin and subscribed at Caraddin yis eight day of Agust 1666 be me Mr john parke minister in ye parish for̄sd

Sic Sub J. Pairk min^r

Edinr first of April 1667

Right Hono^{ble}

John Hume
of Kello.

According to the order of his majesties privy Councill you shall receive the person of John Home of Kello Traytor; who is to be delyvered to you by the Earle of Linlithgow. You are to keep him in your Tolbooth in sure firmance, so as you may be ansuerable for him; and this shall be your warrant. Given . . . at Lesly the thirtieth and one day of March 1667

Sic Sub Rothes

Direct for the magistrats
of Edinburgh

Apryll 10th 1667

William
Calderwod
imprisoned.

Thes ar authorising our sairgons & officers of court conju[n]ctly & severally to take & aprehend the person off William Calderwood in garvall and being aprehendet Thes are requyring the provest & bayllyes of the burgh of Edr to receive the sds William Calderwood into ther Tolbuth or prisson hous therin to remaine vpon his own proper chearges & expenss till farder order. . . .

Sic Sub W. Wallace Geo: Ramsay

June 11th 1667

Maister
William
Dowglas
execute.

Maister William Dowglas sone lau^{ll} to the lady of Blaikorston was beheided at the crosse of Edr and Baylly James Justice received the warrand for his executioun the wch warrand could not be goten from him to regester

[Convicted of the slaughter of Sir James Home of Eccles. The trial is described at considerable length in *Records of the Justiciary*

Court, vol. i., Scot. Hist. Socy., where it is stated that 'Mr. William Douglas a litle before his Triall had almost escaped out of the Tolbooth, having cutt the stenchers of the windows with *aqua fortis*. Being ready to go away he was taken.']

June 27th 1667

You shall at sight heiroff receive in yo^r custodie the person of James Anderson robert heining and John wright who ar rebellis and put them in sure firmance besyd the rest of that sort and this shalbe yo^r warrand Daited at Hallirudhous this 27th day of June 1667

Whiges
James ander-
son
Ro^t haining
John wright
wardet.

Sic Sub Rothes

June 27th 1667

Remember

John maxvell of Dalswynton was releived be Baylly baird his comand

Maxwell of
Dalswinton
releived.

pat hamilton officer

[Imprisoned for debt]

Jully 30th 1667

James grant in Innermarkie and archibald McClackie in pitglassie wardet by warrand as follows :

Grant &
McClackie.

Leslie ap: 5th 1667

honored Sir

Ther being ane very greit probillity of discovering the bottome of the laittie horred murder of Murresek lyone And y^t notheing shall be as to our z^l as to the followeing of it that so justice may be directlie execut And do y^rfor requyre you to sease vpon the persones of James Grant of Innermarchie & Archibald McClackie in Pitglassie And send y^m from sheriff to sheriff this I hope ye will be cairfeull of as ye would obleidge yo^r servant

Sic Sub Rothes

[See *Records of Justiciary Court*, vol. i., Scot. Hist. Socy., for particulars of the murder of John Lyon of Muiresk.]

Agust 2th 1667

Thes ar comanding and charging you George Matthie costable to James Craufurd and apprehend James Craufurd and being apprehendit that you

James Crau-
furd.

bring him to the tolbutth of Edr and incasterat him thair and that for his willfull burning of the mansione house of over Libertoun And for that effect that you [re]ceave the concurrance of the Magistrates of the said burgh and desyres the provist and bailies to receave the said James Craufurd into ther prisone. . . .

Sic Sub Sir John wauchope

As for his alliment I obleidg my self for it during his abode
Sir John wauchope

Agust 13 1667

Asured freind

Captin
James bailie
wardit.

I shall desyr you may receave and keipe in suire prisone the persone of Capt James bailie till hee be put to a tryall for the crymes comited by him or otherwayes disposed of by publick order. . . .

Captane baylly departed this present lyff vpon the thirteine day of May 1672 yeir betwixt three & four hours at afternoone

Agust 20 1667 ¹

Att Edinburgh the first day of Agust 1667 yeares

Agnes Somervell for aled^t
adultery.

Anent a petitione presented in nam of the leadey Minto shewing that Agnes Somervell being apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbutth of Glasgow for adulterie. Necessarie it is for tryell of the said cryme she be [brought] to the tolbutth of Edr And thairfor desyring order & warrand might be dirrect to that effect The Lordes of his Māties privie Counsell doe ordaine the Magistrates of Glasgow to send the said Agnas Somervell prisiner to the tolbutth of Edr upon the expencess of the said Laidey Minto and ordaines the Magistrates of Edr to receave & detain hir prisoner. . . .

Sic Sub Pet: Wedderburne

Agust 22th 1667

Aucht west
cuntry men
wardet.

Aucht west cuntry men wardet as follows

Receive into yo^r saife custodie aucht prissoners brought in be my lord duck of hamiltons order from the tolbutth of hamilton

¹ Follows 'Agust 22th' in the original.

Which was in the leate rebellione and secure theme till farther order. . . .

ther names is	John huchison	Robert hamilton
	Robert meinyeis	James gilkerson
	John forest	Thomas gourlay
	archibald weir	Symond anderson

Decr. 4th 1667

Maister Robert Murray

Sir be pleased to deliver to the officers, John Clarke, John hall and patricke hamilton, The persons off Jeane Ramsay, Mary qwhyte, Christane forbes and hir lasse, Anna Dunckan, Margrat Richison, fflorice Heriott, Kaithraine Buchanen and Elspeth Robison. To be transported to the Corectioun hous in doing q^r of thir p^{nt}s shall be yo^r warrand

Sic Sub James Cury baylly

Decebr last 1667

Charles Dalrympll wardet at the comand of Baylly Curie be captione and protesta^oune at the instance of Robert and william Mitchells sons to vmq^{ll} Jon mitchell in Dippellburn Janet mitchell

[Charles Dalrymple wardet.]

This was stopt by my lord provests desyr vpon ane leter to his lordship from my lord Stair : and the sd Charles set forth be the consent of the partie as the Releife buk will show both the consent & my lord stairs letter both buked in the said releiffe buk.

February 4th 1667 [should be 1668]

My Lord I being certainlie informed be this gentillman angus mackintosh that ther is ane called James moore who for severall murthers haldin bein declaired fugitive & upon ffryday last with some of his associates did enter in ane house of the cannogait whair ane called Alexr Malcombashe was working with some other at his taylour trade about ten a clock at night the sd James moor with his associats having dravne durkes in ther hands did taik with them as ther prisoner the sd persone to have murdered him till in ther passing by the guard he was resceued & taikin from them be the Captaine of the guard & put at libertie & the sd James Moore be order from him was aprehended

James Moore stopt for goeing out by this leter from my lord halker-toune to my lord provest of Edr.

and cairied prisoner to the tolbutth of Edr whair he is detained for the present but is laboring be all meanes possible to be put at libertie knowing that for his murthers if he doe not tymouslie escaipe if he shall be put to a tryall befor the justice he will sufer death therfor this coming to my knoūledge I thought it my deutie both as a privie counsellar and this gentillman being my cussing & whom that James Moor hath threatined to murther also to give yo^r Lo/ notice heiroyf that by order from you to y^e master of the tolbutth his persone may be secured ther till the nixt counsell day being thursday that the Lōs of privie counsell may give order what farder course shall be taiken with him soe remitting this to yor Lo/ best consideratione I rest your lo/ verrey much affectionat cussing to serve you

Sic Sub Halcartoune

February 12th 1668

Androw Robison quaker

Androw robison permitted to goe to 15th day of March. Permite androw Robison to passe out of the prissone upon a necessary concern of his famaly untill the fyfteine day of March he then returning conform to his cautioun found for that effect. . . .

Sic Sub Sir A. Ramsay provest

Apryll 10th 1668

Sir Wam Balenden close prisoner.

The Lords of his majesties privie counsell doe heirby give order and warrand and command to the magistrates of Edinburgh to receave the persone of Sir william bellenden and comitt him to close prisone within the tolbutth of the sd burgh and suffer none to speake with him bot in presence of aney one of the Lords of privie counsell

Sic Sub Rothes

June 4th 1668

Wam adamson blaksmith in Calder wardet.

The Lords of his majestes privy Counsell doe heirby recomend to the Earle of Linlithgow by a party off ffoote to aprehend the person off William adamson Blacksmith in mid Calder who was in the leat rebellion and suspect guilty of the ryott leatlle comitted vpon maister James Broune minister at Eist Callder and to deliver him prisō^r to the magestrats of Edr who ar heirby ordered to receive and detaine him prissoner. . . .

Sic Sub Pet: wederburn

June 19th 1668

Edinburgh the eightein day of June 1668

The Lords of his majesties privie Councill doe heirby give order to the Earle of Linlithgow by a partie of foott to apprehend the wyfes and servantes of Thomas finley Malcom Crawford William Nimo William Haddoway and John gilcrest in Calder and such of thair cheildreine as are above twelve yeares of age Which persones are suspect to have had accession to the ryott comitted upon Mr James broune Minister at Calder And are sensyne fugitive And to imprison thair persones within the tolbutth of Edinburgh till they be examined And ordaines the magistrates of Edinburgh to receive them

West Calder
prissoners
being nyn
& 3 sucking
infants all
wardet.

The persons vndervriten was all called for befor my lord advocat and my lord justice clark vpon saterday the 20th day of June instant and was all dismissed to goe home without payment off any dewes within the tolbutth of Edr after examinatioune

Sic sub Rothes Cancell
Hamilton
Dumfries
Southesk
Tweeddale
Callander
Kincardin
Drumond
John houme

The names of the persones brought in from the west Calder the 19th of June as followes

Margrat Lauder spouse to thomas finlay
Marrion finlay and Marrion Scoone thair servantes
and thomas hamiltoune thair servant alsoe Jannat
McMath spouse to John gilcrest thair Eleasabeth Deyell
and James Grive Eleasabeth ferme spouse to William
haddoway Jannet Nemo sister to william Nemo

[30th November 1668, . . . John Gilchrist, shoemaker in West Calder, William Nimmo, taylor there, . . . and Malcolm Crawford, there, for rising in Rebellion and being at the ffight att Pentland hills, declared fugitives.

2nd November 1669, Thomas ffindlay, Nottar in Wester Calder . . . at last indyted. . . . The Pannel present and ready to underlye the Law and neither the King's Advocate nor Mr James Brown being ready to insist, the Dyet is deserted and new Letters discharged to be given out. *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

June 24th 1668

Edinburgh the Eightein day of June 1668

Mr Micheall
Bruce
wardit.

The Lords of his Majesties privie Councill ordaines the Magistrates of Edinburgh soe soone as Mr Michael Bruce shall be delivered prisoner to them That they receave and detaine him in close prisone And to suffer noe persone to have accesse to him or speak with him except in presence of one of his Majesties privie Counsell or one of the present bailies of Edinburgh

Sic Sub Al. Gibsone

[Afterwards m. of Anwoth]

June 25th 1668

[Mr Bruce
to have no
visitors ex-
cept a phisi-
tione or
cheirurgiane.]

The Lords of his Majesties privie Counsell discharges aney persone to have accesse to Mr Micheall Bruce except a phisitione or cheirurgiane in presence of one of the present bailies of Edinburgh

Sic Sub Al Gibsone

July 2nd 1668

Robert
Greire
wardet.

I ame comanded be his majesties privie counsell to deliver this prisoner Robert grear (who hath beine heir upon the lait rebellione) unto the tolbutth of the ceitie of Edr and thair to keipe hime securlie untill the Counsells fardar order

Sic Sub Earle of Kelloe

Jully 9th 1668

Young Ard-
wall.

Godfray McCulloch wardet by his majesties secret Counsell ffor a ryott sent in be ther lordships comands be Androw Douglas one of ther lo/ meassers during ther pleasors or farther order

July 21 1668

Mr James
Gillon
wardet.

You ar heirby ordered to marche with your partie to widdow Bardsons in Curriehill and thair to searche for and apprehend the persone of Master James Gillone and to bring him along with you prisoner to the tolbutth of Edinburgh Be cairfull that noe abuse be comitted by your partie as you will be ansuerable. . . .

Sic Sub Linlithgow

Jully 25th 1668

Mr Robert Home leat minister at Crawfordjohn wardet.
[For debt]

Mr Robert
Home
wardet

Agust 3rd 1668

Mr George fforbes leat minister at portpatrick wardet.
[For debt]

Mr George
fforbes
wardet.

Agust 6th 1668

The Lords of his Majesties privy Counsell ordaines the provest & bayllies of Edr to suffer all such persones whoos names shalbe given up to them To have accesse to maisteres donckan prissoner in the tolbutth of Edr and the rest of the prissoners who ar sentenced to Banishment during ther stay in prisson and that they be free to converse with all such persons as shalbe given up to them in bill as said is.

Freinds to
have access
to thoss pris-
soners under
sentence of
banishment.

Sic Sub Thomas Hays

Agust 7th 1668

Thes ar desyryng & requyryng the ry^t hono^u the provest & bayllies of Edr to receive into ther prissone the person of Thomas Blacke for ane ryott comitted be him against James Somervell gentellman vssher to his majesties exchaquer . . .

Thomas
Blacke
wardet.

Sic sub Charles Maitland &c

Agust 28th 1668

Edr 18th day of June 1668

The lords of his Majesties privie Counsell having considered a petitione presented to them be Thomas Dunbar of Grange beiring That vpon most onerous considera^oune he & his familie wer peicablie possest of the mainer place of burgie & actually dwelling & receiding therin conform to the ryts securities & infetments granted to him therof be Ro^t Dunbares elder & younger of Burgie. Yet nevertheless they or ane or vyrs of thame hav convocated a greit number of dissolute and lowse persons viz Alex^r peitery in Burgie Alex^r russell ther Thomas Dunckane y^r Alex^r Dumbare alias Tonkie Thomas Dumbare in

Thomas
Donckan
Alex^r Dum-
bar wardet.

blaire and diverse vthers ther accomplices and vpon the sixtein day of May last came to the house of burgie armed w^t swords guns pistolls durks & vyr weapons invasive And in the pēitors absence did violentlie eject unckell & his vther servants ffurth y^rof And seized vpon his tronks papers jewells gold silver & heall furnitore w^tin the sd hous ha[v]ine planted yam selves in forme of ane garrison y^rin maide provision for keiping out a seidge And notwithstanding of all faire meanes ussed doe violentlie & illegally keepe out the sd hous And Therfor humbely supplicating that some effectuall cours might be taiken for bringing the sds rebels to justice & restoring him to his possessione ; The saids lords have be ther act of the deat of thir pñts Ordaind letters to be derset to the lyon King at Armes, and his breithrein Heraulds agēst the sd Robert Dumbar younger of Burgie, and the persons forsd his accomplisses chearging yam to compeire befor them vpon the 30th day of July nixt to añsr to the sds complaint ; As allso charging them to remove yam^selves furth off the hous of Burgie and to deliver the same with the heall insight plenishing goods & geire that wer y^rintill the tym they did posses themselves of the said hous, To the Lyon King at armes or his breithrein heraulds Executors of the sds leters w^tin six hours nixt after the charge vnder the paine of Treassone And the saides Lords considdering the greit contempt to the kings authority by the insolent carriage of the sd persons and that they may further presume Notwithstanding of the said charge to keep out the said hous of Burgie, Doe therfor grant ffull power & comision w^t warrand to alex^r Earlle of Murray shireffe pr^{ll} of the shireff-dome of Innernesse or his deputs, and to the shireffe pr^{ll} of the shireff-dome of Murray or his deputs And to alexr Lord Duffes to convocatt a sufficient number of his majesties leidges and by force of armes to take in the hous of Burgie for the usse of & behove of the sd Thomas Dumbar of Grange imediatlie after the expyryng off the said six hours charge and to aprehend the persons therintill and to present them to justice. . . .

Sic Sub Mr Alex^r Gibsone

Septer 29 day 1668

Edinburgh the 14th day of Septer 1668

Montdrogat
wardet.

The Lords of his majesties privie Counsell doe heirby give order and comand to the majestrats of Edr to receive into the prisson & tolbutth of the said burgh The persons of Robert Cannon younger of

Mondrogat and of any vyrs who shalbe presented to them be Major cockburn or thos having his order, And that they keep them close prissoners till the Counsells farther order :

Sic Sub. Tweddale, Belhaven &c., &c.

The names of the prissoners received into the tolbutth and delivered be Captain John Livingston on of his majesties brigenders acording to the above written warrand to the majestrats of Edr w^{ch} the sd Captaine Livingston hes received ane receit of ar thes Rober[t] Canon yo^r of mondrogat, Robert Chalmers broy^r to the laird of Gadgairth, William millar wha was prissoner in Drumfreis, John Denholm in the Brige of ken, William murdoch smith at the brige of gouck. Septer 30th 1668 they were received.

[See *Records of the Justiciary Court*, vol. ii. Scot. Hist. Socy.]

Nove^r 18 day 1668

Sir bailie

Thes are only to transmitt to your prisone oure being unsufficient the persone of James Vallentyn, a man who takes vpon him to practice divina^oune & soothsaying and ffor money doeth ordenarly make a trade of discovering things lost & how & q^r they may be found, And by q^m they war taiken away or stollen : And in particular of leate hathe aspersed a gentillwoman as being guilty of the lyke notwithstanding she being known to the party who wants the guds to be a person of integretie and vntainted honesty. Wee belive him to be a lousse fflagitious ffellow and therfor Recomend him to be strickly keepe in prisson till he be presented by on james Dun serjant to the garison of the castell of Edr who hathe received no small prejudice throw his debollicall lyeing discoverie or rather d[e]lusion w^{ch} he trades in of purposse to gaine money . . . yo^r very humbill servants the byillies of Leith.

James
Vallantyn
wardet.

Leith the 17th of nov^r 1668

Nov 23 1668

James Vallentyn soothsayer who is called so whom was sent from Leith to Edr tolbutth ffor his deabollicall tricks is aristed at the comand of Baylly Murray and during my Lord Lyon his pleasor

James vallen-
tyn aristed
be my lord
Lyon.

Decr 8th 1668

Edr 19th nov^r 1668four west
country men
wardet.

The Lords of his majesties privie Counsell being informed that some persons who ware ingadged in the leate rebellion in the yeire 1666 ar prissoners within the Tolbuth of Glasgowe doe ordaine Mungo Murray Leivtenant of the kinges guard to caus transport the sds prissoners with a sufficient guard from Glasgow to the Tolbuth of Edr. . . .

Ther names is, Thomas Mairtain, John sculler, William broun, wa^m gilkersone

Janvarie 5th 1669

Edinburgh the thertie day of July 1668

Mr David
Mortoune
wardit.

The Lords of his Majesties privie councill being informed of some base and enornuious carriage of one Master David Mortoune a debosht profligat persone who though he never was nor is a minister yeit presumes most impeiouslie to take upone him to marrie persones contrar & against all rules prescryved both be god & the laues of the kingdome for the orderly celiberation of marriages to the high offence of god & reproach of the government and soe farr as in him lyes to y^e ruine of privat parties who are thuse abused with him Doe thairfor recommend to the magistrats of Edinburgh . . . to seize & apprehend the persone of the sd Mr David Mortoune wher he cane be gotten and to comitt him to the nixt prisone thairin to remaine till he be presented befor y^e councill and receive his due punishment and if neid beis to maike oppen doors and ordainse letters to be dirrect to charge y^e sd Mr David Mortoun to compeir the nixt councill day being tuesday be citatione at the mercat crosse of Edinburgh Because he hes noe duelling place under the payne of rebellione

Sic Sub Al Gibsone

Janvarie 6th 1669

Perth Janry ye second 1669

Bessie barrie
wardit.

Sir I received yours concerning the burning of a barne yeard by a most mallitious womane now in the tolbutth of ffaulkland and it is my desyre you cause furth with send hir to edinburgh at the perishones expenss that noe tyme be delayed in doeing justice upon such faulters. . . .

Sic Sub Atholl

Janvarie 7th 1669

Mr David Mortoune arristed at comand of bailie Hamilton for to David
Mortoune.
ansuer to the grayfreirs kirk session.

february 9th 1669

Robert Murray keeper of the tolbutth of Edr you are to receive William
Greire of
Lochrure
wardet be the
secreit
consell.
from Major william cokburn the person of William Greire of Lochrure
and detaine him prissoner till farther order.
Sic Sub Twedell, Kincardine &c &c

March 8th 1669

Att Edinburgh the second day of March jai vic and sixty nyn Captain
James Bayllie
aristed.
yeirs Anent a petitioun presented be Dame Margrat Baylly Ladie
Luss shewing That whaire James Baylly peitioners vnckell having
twintie yeirs agoe debauched a great patrimoney and forsaiking all in-
dustrie for his livelihood returned to Scotland after his prodigalitie to
burthen his frinds whom the petitioner out of hir naturall compassion
hes intertained above these fyftein yeares in dyet, cloathes and money
in hir owne familie and els whair to hir great charge when his genius
led him to travell abroad all the which tyme the petitioner hir husband
and whole familie have beine at great paynes to comport with his
extravagancies of a deip hypondriak humour till the last yeir that the
said James having fallen in a perfit distraction did w^tout the least
shadow of any provocation with a drawn sword offer till kill the peti-
tioner and hir childrein which he w^old undoubtedlie have done If
god in his providence had not prevented him by the assistance & inter-
position of some of the petitioners servands whom he run twyse or
thryse throw the cloathes missing thair bodies by thair declyning the
stroaks whairvpon he being put in furance for the tyme and the mater
being represented to the deceast Marques of Montrose He as a privie
councillor comanded a partie of horse to convoy him to Edinburgh
whair he lyes incarcerat ever since and now the Marques being deceassed
he is craving to be at libertie notwithstanding he hes never yet offered
any caution for the securitie of the petitioner and hir childrein upon
whom at his coming to Edinburgh he vowed to be revenged conforme
to his long studied intention and this in the hearing of the companie
that guarded him hither as thair declaration produced beares & the

maliginitie of his distraction coming by fluxes and refluxes with some intermissions as ye ordinar is in that disease and no other places of restraint being appoynted in this kingdom for such persones bot only ye common prison and thairfor humblie desyring that ye sd James bailie might be ordered to continou prisoner whair he is untill such tyme as he gett sufficient caution for the indemnitie of ye petitioner as accords of ye law The Lords of his majesties privie counsell having heard and considered ye forsd petition doe ordaine the said james bailie to continow prisoner in the tolbutth of Edinburgh and not to be enlarged untill the petitioner be hard and that the said James Bailzie find sufficient caution for the indemnitie and securitie of the petitioner hir husband childrein familie and servantes thair persones.

Sic Sub Thomas Hay

March 15 1669

Andrew
whyt in
alistone
wardet.

Whairas ther was ane order directed to me from my Lord Chancellor for apprehending this man Andrew whyt in alistoune loanhead as being suspect of roberie or theft in talking away of a coffer and some other goods belonging to Ducke Hamiltoune of a considerable value. . . . Doe desyre y^t his persone may be keiped in sūr waird & firmance in your tolbutth. . . .

Andro whyt
deiced w^hin
this hous.

Sic Sub Sir John Couper

March 30 1669

Robert
Patton Wam
Cuthbertson
robert
harper
thomas
wylly,
Thomas
Smith
Robert gib-
son, John
gray.
Siven west
countray men
wardit vpon
the 2th of
apryll.

Edr y^e 4th 1669

These are requyring the magistrates of the toune of Edinburgh to receave such persones as shall be sent to them by aney partie of his Majesties standing forces or by ye officers or Comissioners of the militia in the shyres of air Renfrew Lanerick the bailzerie of Cuningham or Stevertrie of Kirkcudbright and to detaine them prisoners in thair tolbutth. . . .

Sic Sub. Rothes cañell I.P.D.

June 15th 1669¹

Mr James
Hamiltone
minister at
blantyre
wardet.

Edr ye 11th of June 1669

These are comanding and requyring the magistrates of edinburgh that whensoever Mr James Hamiltone lait minister at Blantyre or aney vther persones from glasgow shall be presented or brought to

¹ Follows June 17th in the original.

them by aney partie of his māties forces that they immediatlie comitt them prisoners to the tolbutth . . .

Sic sub Rothes

June 17th 1669

The Laird of towie Barcklay and ane vther young man with him who was sent from his majesties secreit counsell till ther farder order : and the young man to lye in irons till farder order from the Lords. This comand was given at the tolbutth geat verball be androw douglas meassr.

Towie Bar-
ckly wardet
with ane
vther young
man.

July 2nd. 1669

Proveist and bailies of bruntisland . . . ordered furthwith to send prisoners to the tolbutth of edinburgh . . . John Hoge and James adamsone. . . .

John hoge
James adam-
son comitted
prisoners.

July 6th 1669

The Lordes of Counsell & sessione finding that robert ogelvie servitor to the tutor of Towie hes this day prevericatt in his depositions befor them and being vpon oth hes be his depositions depon[e]d ffalslie and perjured himselfe Doe therfor declaire the sd robert infamous & ordaines him presentlie to be laid in the irons in the tolbutth off Edr & to ly y^{rin} q^{ll} the morrow at eleivein oclock at wch tyme ordaines the majestrats of Edr to releive him out of the yrons forsd & to caus yair hangman carie him from the tolbutth to the pillarie neire the crosse of Edr and that he stand theron from eleivein a clock to twelff with a peaper on his browe having this inscriptioun, Robert Ogelvie ane infamous men-sworne person . and that after twelff a clocke he be caried backe to the prisson ther to remaine q^{ll} the lords give farder order

Robert
ogelvie
declared
infamous.

Sic Sub Jo: Gillmoir I.P.D.

[See also *Records of Justiciary Court*, vol. i., Scot. Hist. Socy., for particulars of Ogilvie and Capt. Barclay.]

Houch
Camron of
locheill
releived be
his proteccion
and the twa
messrs that
took him
put in to
the tolbutth
vpon the 8 of
jully.
the cheiff off
the Camrons
releived upon
the 8 jully.

July 7th 1669

Hew Camrone of Locheill wardet at the comand of bailie drumond
be caption . . . ffor not pay^t making . . . of the soume of Nyne
hundreth and sixtie pundis Scotis and y^t for y^e mantinence of his lands
within y^e shirrefdome of Innernes. . . .

Hew Camron of Locheill was releived be the lords of counsell in
respect he hade a protection ffor his person and debte

Jully 13th 1669

The laird of
Towie aristed
be the Lords
of Counsell
& Session
ther order.

The Lords . . . having considered the depositions of deivers per-
sons taiken be them in the processe of improbatioun persewed be
Eleizabath Barcklay douchter to the deceist Laird of Towie against
captaine william Barcklay of Auchredie and the oathe and declaratioun
of the sd Captaine Barcklay being unconsistant with and contrarie
to the depositions of the witnesses, Together with deivers vthers pre-
sumptions of the saids wa^m Barklay hes beine guiltie off counterfitting
and forging the wryts craveing to be improven as particularlie in
refussing to produce the p^{ri}^{ll} wryts called ffor and suffering certifi-
cacioun to pas against the same The Lords ffor further cleiring of
the trewth Think ffitt that the said william Barcklay being presently
prissoner in the tolbutth of Edr be order off the Lords of privie Counsell
be kept still prissoner vntill the event of the said processe of improba-
tioun And therfor doe require and comand the majestrats of Edr
to keep and deteine the sd Wa^m barcklay prissoner in ther tolbutth
during the dependence of the said processe and vntill the Lords give
further order consarning him

Sic Sub Jo: Gilmor I.P.D.

July 29 1669

Maister
George Keith
qwaker
wardet be
the secreit
counsell.

Maister George Keith qwaker wardet be his majesties secreit counsell
and brought in to the Tolbutth of Edenburgh be ther Lordships verball
order Be Androw Douglas ther Measser with his Measse in his hand
he presented him within the hall of the said tolbutth Till the Counsell
farther order

[? July 30 1669]

Edinburgh ye 29 day of July 1669

The Lords of his majesties privie counsell doe heirby grant order and warrand to ye magistrats of Edinburgh to keipe and detaine Mr georg keith quaker prisoner in thair tolbutth till further order from the counsell And discharges the keiper of the tolbutth to permit any persone suspect to be of his persuasione to have access to him and als that he allow noe other persone to have acces to him without warrand from the provist of Edinburgh

Mr George
Keith
comited to
ane closse
prisson.
qwaker.

Sic Sub Al Gibsone

[George Keith, a voluminous writer both for and against the quakers, was born in Aberdeen. Was first a presbyterian then a quaker. Went to Pennsylvania, where he founded a new sect of his own. Returning from America, he took orders, and became rector of Edburton in Essex. At one time he was an inmate of the Aberdeen Tolbooth.]

September 6th 1669

Edward Hill y^e are to booke Captaine barclaye be vertew of ane arreistment laid on at the instance of John Drumond on of his Majesties lyffe gairds and this is yo^r warrand ffrom

Sic sub George Drumond Bayllie

Captaine
Barclay
aristed
be John
Drumond
for 21^{tt}
ster: money.

September 10th 1669

Edinburgh ye second of septr 1669

The Lords of his majesties privie counsell doe by thes presentes grant order & warrand to the magistrates of the severall burghes in this kingdome to receave & comit to prisone such persones as shall be presented to them by Sir James Campbell of Lawyers or aney having his order & to keipe & detaine them prisoners untill further order from the counsell

Sic sub Thomas Hay

September 10th 1669

Georg Lumsdaine

You shall repair to ye Magistrates of Edr and deliver thaim these prisoners ffinlay m^cgibbone paull clerke william M^ceanvick challume

William
bruce wardit.

alies bruce to be secured by them according to ye counccills order : at
Lauers the 8th of Septer 1669

Sic sub Sir James Campbell

william bruce comited close
prisoner at ye comand of
bailie drumond georg
hall offr

September 13th 1669

Three hyland
men to be
alimented
by order of
maister Wam
Sharpe at a
grote a day
every on of
yam.

I desyre you may be pleased to ordour dyat and sutable intertaini-
ment to the three highland theives sent in by Sir James Campbell to
the tolbutth of edr by ordour of his Majesties counccill and vpon your
accompt of this thankfull payment shall be maid to you by your
humble servant

Sic Sub William Sharpe

September 18th 1669

John
Mcgregor
orderd to
have a grote
a day be
maister
Wam Sharpe
to the gud-
man him self.

Georg Lumsdeane you shall repair to the magistrates of edr and
deliver to them John Mcgrigour alies Mcandowilmadowill lettrach to
be comited to prisone . . . at lawers ye 15 day Septer 1669

Sic Sub J. Cambell

September 24th 1669

William
aickfoord
wardit.

These ar to comand & requyre all constables within the shiradome
of edr ore aney of them to tacke & apprehend William Ackfoord smyth
in muttonholl & being apprehendit to incarcerat him within ye tolbutth
of edr & thair to remaine till further order be givin to the justice of peace
undersubscrivaing for his liberation . . . at edr ye fourt of agust 1669

Sic sub Mr Robert prestoune I.P.D.

Sir bailie

Please give order for incarcerating of ye above writin William
Aikfoord within ye tolbutth of edr be wertew of ane frequent meating
of ye Justices of peaces order and for his intertainment thair according
to ye ordinar rait in such lyke caices 3f or 4f a day for ye space of
eight dayes I shall be good for the payment yrof

Sic Sub Sir John Smyth

October 10th 1669

. . . Callum oag m^egrigour to be comitted to prisone according to the counccills order att Mulline the sevint day of october 1669

Sic Sub J. Campbell

Callam oge
alimented be
the gudmans
comand to be
payed be
Mr Sharpe
at 4f Scots
a day.

[Charged with Theft, Robbery, Sorning, Incest, convicted 16 Nov. 1669 and sentenced to be hanged on 24th inst. *Records of Justiciary Court*, vol. i. Scot Hist. Socy.]

November 15th 1669

Thes gives warrand to Robert Murray gudman of the tolbutth to receive & deteine in prisson The Bodies of Thomas Ord and John Nicoll mērd burges in Edr aye and q̄ll each of them shall pay to Jon hay Clarke of the Constabell Court the sowme of ffortie pund Scots—As lykwayes the bodies off Janet Duncane and margrat Burn ay and qūilk ane of them pay to the sd Jon hay the number off Thrie rix dollers. . . .

Thomas ord
John nicoll
mērd. &
vthers
wardet.

Thes from
the Earle of
arrolls court
hie constabell
of Scotland.

Sic Sub Jo: hay Constabell deput

November 23rd 1669

Willam Ker of Ittall wardet be caption. . . .

the gudeman
tooke Ittall
to his own
hous the
same nyt
who never
returned
againē &
nether did
he send in
his sus-
pension.

November 26th 1669

Donald McMichaell in the old clachan and Jonet Mcmitcheall his spouse John heuch miller in holme milne hugh smyth in [blank] Robert Ireland in brae and Robert McGill in all wardit be caption at ye comand of bailie oliphant and at the instance of our weell beloved counceller Sir John Nisbit of Dirltone knight our advocat for his interest in ye mater underwritin Wha was orderlie denounced rebell & put to ye horne upon ye sevintein day of nove^r instant direct at ye sd compl^{rs} instance against them for not compeiring personalie befor the lords of our privie Councill upon the elevint of this instant to have beine leell and suithfast witnessing in sua far as they know or should have bein speired at them in the complement persewed at ye compl^{rs} instance against Mr thomas wernor lait minister at Bellmaclellane Robert greir of Millmarke and divers others as alsoe against the heritors and parishoners of ye parish of Belmacklellane toutching the violence

Gallow men
wardet as
followes viz
Donald
m^cmichaell
and Janat
McMichaell
his spous
John heuch
hew smith
ro^t Irland
ro^t McGille.

& oppression comitted upon Mr John Row minister at bellmaclellane as the sds lērs of denunciation dewlie execut & regrat conforme to ye act of parliament produced beares. . . .

December 18th 1669

The Laird of
Corsland
wardet.

Whairas the lait Laird of Corsland being forfated for treasone is now apprehended these are to authorise and requyre you to receave him into the tolbutth of edr and thair to keipe him close prisoner. . . .
Sic Sub Lauderdaill Comisionr

December 30th 1669

John Watt
elder wardit.

John Watt elder wardit be caption at the comand of bailie cheyne and at the instance of John Ramsay merchant burges of edr That whair thair was ane indentur maid and subscribed at edr the second day of agust jai vic & sixtie yeares betwixt the sd compl^r one the ane part and John watt elder sumtyme indueller in the milne of lesmurdie & now residenter in edr for himself & tacking the burding upon him for John watt younger his sone with advyce & consent of John Jack taylor burges of ye sd burgh and Georg Mowat merchant thair one the vther part whairby the sd John watt younger became prentice to the sd John ramsay w^t consent forsd in his tread & calling of merchandice for all the dayes space & termes of fyve yeares nixt & immediatlie following his entrie thairto whilk was & bygone vpon the second day of agust 1667 yeares & efter the expyring of ye sd fyve yeares of the prentiship to serve ane vyre year for fee or reward as he & ye sd compl^r should condesend vpon & think expedient and lykwayes ye sd John watt yonger as prentice & John watt elder and John Jack taylor as cautioners band & oblidged them conūllie and seaveralie that ye sd John watt younger shall leillie trewlie and diligentlie during ye space forsd of fyve yeares serve ye sd compl^r in all things godlie & honestlie in whatsumēr place & tyme requisit & that he shall not heir nor know of his skaith or discredit direcklie or inderecktie but should advertise him therof & remeid ye samine to ye outmost of his power & y^t he should give efter the expyring of his prentishipe three dayes service for each dayes absence w^tout leave asked & given be his sd m^r & lykwayes ye sd John watt elder as prin^l & georg mowatt as cautionr sovertie & full debtor for him band & oblist them coñllie & seāllie y^r airs exērs & successors

to mack pay^t to ye sd compl^r his airs ex^{ers} or assignees of ye soume of fourtie pundis scotes betwixt ye dait forsd of ye said indentors & ye terme of whitsonday last bypast as ye samen regrat in ye bukes of our counsell & sessione vpon ye 23 day of nov^r last bypast at mair lenth beares whairvpon ye sd compl^r purchast & raisit o^{ur} vther le^{res} of horning & be vertew yrof ye sd John watt elder vpon ye 29 day of Decr instant wes dewlie & orderlie denounced our rebell & putt to our horne for not observing keiping & fulfilling to ye sd compl^r the sd indenter in ye hail heads artickles & clausses thair of In sua far as he stands bund & oblidged yrby in maner forsd and for not pay^t macking to him of ye soume of ffourtie pundis scotes as the le^{rs} of caption beares at mor lenth Signit vpon ye 30 day of Decr 1669 be vertew qrof william hume messer did charge ye forsd bailie for his concurance under ye paine of rebellion & puting of him to the horne ye just duple qrof is keiped for ye bailies warrand.

February 1st. 1670

The bearer being cautioner for marrie weir who hath confesed Marie Weire. fornication befor our session finding that shee desynes to run away from our discipline & to goe in ye virginia shipe which is now readie to saill hath disered me to caus secure hir & therfor I have givin you this trouble y^t you may give order to yor officers to comitt hir till she give in suficent surtie for hir satisfaction to ye church. . . .

Sic Sub Jo: Patersone

June 9th 1670

Andrew master of Rollo wardet. . . .
[For debt.]

Master of
Rollo
wardet.

June 18th 1670

Mr John Werner David Carmichell William Hadaywardit at comand
of bailie Jonstone

Mr John
Vernor
David
Carmicheall
Wa^m haliday

June 20th 1670

John Carmichell wardit at comand of bailie Jonstone. This warrand is dedercted from the secreit Counsell to Mongo Murray and from him to Captaine Ramsay on of the kings guard under the comand of the Earle of newbroch of deat the 16th of June 1670

John
Carmichall
all wardet.

Sic Sub Mungo Murray

June 21st 1670

John Verner
William
haddoway
John
Carmichell
put in irons.

These are giving order and comand to the magistrats of edr imediat-
lie upon sight heirof to putt Mr John verner william haddoway and
John Carmichell in the irones and to keipe them in the irones till
further order and keipe them close prisoners

Sic Sub Rothes cancell

June 25th 1670

Edinburgh ye 23th of June 1670

David
Mather
wardit.

The Lords of his Mäties privie councill doe give order and warrand
to ye livtenent of his mäties troupe of guards under ye comand of ye
Earle of Newburgh or in his absence ye nixt commanding officer upon
sight heirof to appoynt a partie of that squad of horse quartered in ye
Cannogait to pase search seick for & apprehend the persones following
viz David Mather in Brignes and to bring them prisoners and deliver
him to the magistrats of edr. . . .

Sic Sub Rothes

June 26th 1670

Robert
wallwood
wardit.

. . . Robert wallwood of touch in the parish of Dunferling. . . .

[Imprisoned. The order is in similar terms to the preceding one.]

August 4th 1670

McLeod of
Assynt
wardit.

Neill Mcgloud of Asheine wardit be ye councill

August 15th 1670

McLeod of
Assynt.

Neill McCloud of Assen arrested be caption . . . for not delyvereing
to Mr John McKenzie of the number of eightein kyne. . . .

September 8th 1670

Cap^t
rutherford
wardet.

Being informed that you apprehend our order to you yesterday
Anent the takeing responsabill suretie for John Rutherfordids appeir-
ance the nixt counsell day wes not full anough We declair that you ar
not to sett him at libertie till he find suretie as aforsd And we also
expect that you tak suretie for my Lord Rutherfordids procureing the

sd Johne Rutherfuid Then signed att the Cannogate the 7th of
September 1670 yeiris

Sic Sub Caithnes

September 14th 1670

Sir Bailies

Be pleased to cause the keiper of the tolbutth receave into prisone ^{Christiane}
the persone of Christiane wood spouse to william Smyth mairinor in ^{Wood}
Leth till she be called for be ye kirk session of Leith. . . . ^{warded.}

Sic Sub Georg Drumond

September 29th 1670

Neill McCloud of Assen arrested be vertue of caption. . . .

McLeod of
Assynt.

[For a debt incurred by his father in 1630.]

JOHN A. FAIRLEY.



MOUBRAY HOUSE AND NEIGHBOURING BUILDINGS, 1823

MOUBRAY HOUSE

THIS fine old house, part of which is thought to date from the sixteenth century, stands on the north side of the High Street, immediately above John Knox's House, with which, and the old Town Well in front, it forms a very picturesque group, characteristic of the Old Edinburgh of the past, so much of which is now gone for ever.

It was purchased in January 1910 by means of a public subscription got up by the Cockburn Association, and was placed in the hands of a body of trustees, of whom Lord Guthrie is President, with a view to its preservation in the public interest for all time. The house was in exceedingly bad order when purchased, and it has been partly restored, but unfortunately the restoration cannot be completed owing to want of funds—a second appeal in the spring of last year having met with a very meagre response.

Externally the house presents a very picturesque front to the street, as it possesses one of the old-fashioned fore-stairs leading up to the first floor, curiously shaped small windows lighting the turnpike staircase, a flying tympany on the top storey, and on the eastern side of the house, where it abuts on John Knox's house, a small piece of corbelling.

The property is thought to have been at one time two separate houses; one at the back with windows facing east and west, and another in front with its principal windows looking on to the High Street. Confirmation of this theory was found when carrying on the work of restoration, for the operations in connection with the erection of a gangway

leading into John Knox's House revealed the existence of an old door jamb with part of the hinges still in place, on the eastern wall looking into Ashley Court. This is considerably above the present level of Ashley Court, and was probably at one time led up to by a flight of steps, no trace of which remains. There was also found on the south wall of one of the back rooms built on to the front tenement part of a window which had originally faced to the north.

The most striking exterior feature of the house is the western side, where the wall is built out to a great thickness, resting on a succession of corbels, as shown in the accompanying illustration. This is the best example in Edinburgh of this method of construction, and it is unfortunate that it is not seen by the ordinary passer-by, as the close on which the wall abuts is a cul-de-sac with a gateway which is usually kept locked. A key to the gate is, however, kept by Mr. Hay of John Knox's House, and is available for the use of visitors. In the same close, which is known as Trunk's Close, a corruption of Turing's Close, the house to the west having formerly belonged to the Turings of Foveran, is the door leading down into the cellars upon which the house rests. These are large and vaulted, the front one still retaining traces of fittings which lead one to think that the trade of a barber was at one time carried on therein, though he must have had but scanty light for his purpose. The cellar to the north, which is large and high, contains traces of a fireplace and also of a stone staircase in the north-west corner, presumably leading up to the ground floor, though no trace of its exit can be found. The presence of these remains makes it not improbable that this cellar was at one time the kitchen of the house, and this is supported by the fact that, leading from the back cellar into the courtyard to the east there is a door which probably formed the back entrance of the house.

The ground floor consists of a shop abutting on the High Street, with a large saloon at the back lighted by three large



MOUBRAY HOUSE: CORBELLED GABLE IN TRUNK CLOSE

windows on the eastern side. This saloon is of considerable size and contains cupboards, and was in all probability a dining-hall at one time. Access from this saloon to the first storey is given by a straight stone staircase situated entirely inside the corbelled outer wall before mentioned, and lit up by a tiny window at the top which looks out into Trunk's Close.

The first floor contains four rooms facing east in the back portion of the house and a large room to the front looking into the High Street. One corner of this latter room is occupied by the commencement of a turnpike stair leading to the upper storeys, and when the restoration of this room was in progress a very curious curved oak beam was uncovered running round the circular portion of the turnpike stair. It contains a number of large pegs or dools irregularly placed, which rise a little above the surface of the wood, and vary from an inch to one and a quarter inches in diameter. One of these is loose in its socket and can be pulled out. In order to show this curious feature, for which no satisfactory explanation can be put forward, the portion containing the pegs has been left uncovered. Off this large room is the small room to which reference has already been made as containing on its southern side the remains of a window looking to the north. The door from the main room leads into the turnpike stair which commences on this storey, access thereto being gained by an outside stair leading down into the High Street. This turnpike stair has an outer wall of great thickness, and is lit up by three small square-shaped windows, whose unusual shape and irregular position help to add to the external picturesqueness of the house.

The stair leads us to the second floor, which consists of three rooms, the front or southern one of which contains a very fine stucco-work ceiling. The room has been divided by a partition, and the passage outside it leading to the back room must at one time have formed part of the room, as the

pattern of the ceiling comes out into it. The room in its original state must have been a fine one, and it is still panelled, though, unfortunately, not with oak.

The ceiling bears no date, but the character of the work leaves little doubt that it is contemporaneous with ceilings in the city put up in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It contains a central panel with a female figure surrounded by formal leaves and fruits. The other panels also contain winged heads of cupids, leaves and fruits, and in two places on the ceiling there is a coronet.

The passage leading to the room at the back of this floor is vaulted and bears traces of a moulding, and this room has a curious feature in the shape of a stone arch which runs across it from north to south. The picturesque effect of the arch is, however, marred by the presence of a wooden beam which has been inserted alongside it for purposes of support.

The two top floors have no particular features of interest, and the house as a whole contains but little trace of its former splendour. It is, however, in spite of this, a very fine example, both internally and externally, of the Old Edinburgh town houses, such as were at one time occupied by the nobility and gentry of Scotland.

In regard to its history, there is unfortunately but little to say, and the origin of the name Moubray House is also quite uncertain. The only clue to it is afforded by the fact that there are among the titles of the property certain deeds which refer to a house built by one Robert Moubray, Wright, Burgess in Edinburgh. In the year 1703 this Robert Moubray purchased from William Chalmers, Writer in Edinburgh, 'All and Haill that ruinous tenement and house sometyme pertaining to Margaret Newlands, lying in the Burgh of Edinburgh near the Nether Bow upon the north syde of the street at the foot of the closs called Bassondons Closs nixt adjacent on the east to the tenement and yeard sometyme pertaining to the deceast Mr. John Bayne of Pitcairlie and now to me



CEILING IN MOUBRAY HOUSE

which ruinous tenement was burnt and destroyed in the year 1645 and has been ever since ruinous and was disposed by the Provost, Baillies and Councill of Edinburgh to the said Mr. John Bayne in the year 1671 and is now made ane yearld.' He thereafter erected upon the ground a new 'stone land or tenement with two yeards stable and little court adjacent thereto,' and in the year 1711 sold this new building to Mr. Harry Maule of Kellie, brother to the Earl of Panmure. The building is described as 'All and Hail that my new stone land or tenement lately made and built by me consisting of a cellar, three storeys and a garret with the two yeards or gardens lying upon the south and north sydes thereof and sick lyke ; All and Hail those two stables and little court adjacent thereto all presently occupied and possessed by me and lying in the Burgh of Edinburgh near the Nether Bow upon the north syde of the street at the foot of the closs called Bassondons Closs.' Now Bassendyne's Close, called Panmure Close after this date, lay to the east of John Knox's House, on the site of the present Moray-Knox Church, and from the description of the house as lying at the foot of this close and having a garden upon the south of it, it is quite clear that the house now known as Moubray House was not that built by the Robert Moubray in question. Further, it is evident from the structure of the house and the character of the stucco-work ceiling it contains, that it was built at an earlier period than that at which Robert Moubray was busy reconstructing his ruinous tenement. It is possible that owing to some misunderstanding, which cannot now be explained, the name came to be transferred from the house built by Robert Moubray to that which forms the subject of this article. Certainly the name 'Moubray House' has now been attached to the latter for a long period.

Curiously enough the house, though undoubtedly deserving of notice, is not mentioned at all by either Wilson or Chambers.

The existing writs do not go farther back than 1849, when the house was in possession of one Robert Jolly, a surgeon. It is possible that its history could be traced back through the Registers for a further period, but that is a task which the writer hopes some other member of the Club, more skilled in research work, and with more leisure, will some day undertake.

ANDREW E. MURRAY.

LETTERS FROM JOHN BONAR TO WILLIAM CREECH
CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF THE SPECULATIVE SOCIETY

THE four Letters which form the subject of this paper, and which are given at length in the sequel, are of interest as illustrative of the formation of one of the eighteenth century debating societies of Edinburgh, viz. : The Speculative Society, a Society which enjoys the almost unique position of still existing and flourishing, notwithstanding its long age of almost 160 years. Moreover, it has this further distinction that among its members right down throughout its whole existence it has reckoned some of the most eminent literary and judicial talent of the city, and men of the highest standing and most distinguished careers in all the professions. Of it Robert Louis Stevenson, writing to a fellow-member in 1873, uses these words, 'I do think the "Spec" is about the best thing in Edinburgh.' Twice has the history of this Society been given to the world, first in 1845 and again recently in 1904, and the lists of the members therein set forth show that its influence in the moulding of the mental activities of many of Edinburgh's representative citizens has not been small. The Letters come from a collection of correspondence addressed to William Creech, the well-known bookseller of Edinburgh, in the possession of Mrs. Tempest of Dalguise House, Perthshire, who has generously granted permission for their publication.

Mr. John Bonar, the writer of the letters, was the eldest son of the Rev. John Bonar, minister of Cockpen, and after-

wards of Perth. He was born at Cockpen on 24th August 1747, his mother being Christian Currier, daughter of Andrew Currier, W.S., of Peffermill, a little to the south of Edinburgh. His father was descended from the family of Bonar of Kilgraston, in the parish of Dumbarnie, Perthshire, and others of his immediate ancestors were also ministers of the Church of Scotland. John was at first designed for the ministry, and received his early education at Perth Academy; but on the death of his father, when John was only fourteen years of age, his mother with her family of seven sons and two daughters removed in 1762 to Edinburgh, where, notwithstanding somewhat straitened circumstances, she educated her children, and left all of them in a position to win through life successfully. To fulfil his original purpose of entering the ministry, John proceeded to the University of Edinburgh, but, as he mentions in one of his letters to Mr. Creech, while engaged in his studies there, he found temporary employment as a clerk in the Excise Office, and this circumstance altered the course of his career.

It was while he was attending classes at the University in 1764 that the idea took shape of forming a Speculative Society. He thus refers to it in his diary :

‘Friday, 16 Nov. 1764. A scheme is at present on hand by a few of us students to get a society for improving ourselves in speaking, reasoning, etc., to meet once a week in the College, to consist of a few select ones. We meet to-morrow at six to consider of it and set it afoot. There are only six of us at present. O Lord, may it be for the better and not for the worse! May I grow also in grace as I grow in wisdom! Though all of them are not of so serious a turn as might be wished, yet decency and regard for religion will be preserved.’

On the following day he enters in his diary the results of this meeting.

‘Saturday, 17. Met at 6 in Dr. Young’s class (room), which we are always after to get. The Society is to consist

of fifteen. Each pays 1/6d. at entrance. To meet every Friday at 6 o'clock evening. Mr. Creech chosen president for this night; I, clerk or treasurer for a quarter. We are to have a discourse and debate by two each night, and a little on elocution. To be named the Speculative Society; and tickets are engraved for the members with a suitable device. We open on Friday next. I begin with prayer to God for success on our undertaking, reading something, and Mr. Creech is to have a discourse. The committee is to meet on Wednesday at 6 to settle matters and results. I hope it will be of use and service to us. Lord, grant that blessing upon it without which we can do nothing!'

John Bonar continued to be Secretary to the Society until 1771, and saw it fairly launched and on its way to success. He was also the author of more than one work, religious and anecdotal, written when still a young man, as the following letters show. He became Solicitor of the Excise in Scotland and was an authority of great repute on questions of Revenue. He held this office until his death in 1807. He married a Miss Janet Palmer, but left no issue. For most of this information the writer is indebted to Mr. Horatius Bonar, W.S.

The five associates of Mr. John Bonar in the formation of the Society were all young men about his own age. One was William Creech, the Edinburgh bookseller already mentioned, to whom the letters were written. He was also the son of a minister, his father being the Rev. William Creech of Newbattle, and he was born there in 1745. He became apprentice to Mr. Kincaid, a bookseller and at one time Lord Provost of Edinburgh, to whose business, after spending some time in London and on the Continent, he succeeded and himself became Lord Provost of Edinburgh. He was in his time the most extensive publisher in Scotland, and the poems of Robert Burns emanated from his printing press. His shop in the High Street of Edinburgh was the centre of the Scottish literary world, and was so frequented by the authors of the

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day as to get the name of 'Creech's levee.' Burns wrote of him :

'O Willie was a witty wight,
And had o' things an unco slight,
Auld Reekie aye he keepit tight
An trig, an braw.'

Creech was himself an author, contributing many articles to periodical works, some of which were afterwards collected and published as 'Fugitive Pieces.' He died in 1815.

Another of the six founders of the Society was Allan Maconochie, Lord Meadowbank, who continued in the membership of the Society till 1799. He studied for the Law, and was called to the Bar in 1770. In 1779 he was appointed professor of the Law of Nature and Nations in the University of Edinburgh, and after a term as Sheriff of Roxburgh was raised to the Bench and took the title of Lord Meadowbank. He died in 1816.

The fourth was John Bruce, who became professor of Logic in Edinburgh University, and held the office of Historiographer to the East India Company. He was M.P. for St. Michaels, Cornwall, from 1809 to 1814. He lived to see the golden jubilee of the Society he assisted to inaugurate, dying in 1826.

The fifth was Alexander Belsches of Innermay, advocate, who died in 1779 ; and the sixth was John Mackenzie of Dolphinton.

The letters were written to Mr. Creech while he was at London, where his address was 'Mrs. Strachey's, Downing Street, Westminster.'

HENRY PATON.

THE LETTERS

I. *John Bonar to William Creech*

August 1766.

FRIEND WILL,—Thou art indeed but an indifferent sort of a fellow in as much as having said (and that too upon the 'swelling surge') thou wouldst do thy friend a pleasure by

giving to him the information of thine arrival, transactions and occurrences more or less in the great and wicked city, thou hast not even unto this moment given a fulfillment of thy promise. With daily expectation have I waited and as daily have I been disappointed. Thy crime, moreover, receives an aggravation when to the circumstances already enumerated we add one other additional which deprives even inclination of all shadow of excuse. Did I not let thee to wit of a manner in or by which a transmission of thy observations, lucubrations or the like would be attended neither to the giver nor receiver with that enormous charge which political wisdom has been foolish enough to impose upon faithful subjects who communicate to each other their various sentiments or discoveries by means of well regulated correspondence? Didst thou not know that such taxation might be avoided by giving to thine epistles that direction which by a certain sort of unjustifiable dealing throws the amount of their expence to the account of him who presideth and ruleth in these realms? Therefore forasmuch as thou well knewest all these particulars we must conclude thee altogether gone astray unless thy spirit shall move thee upon the vision of this to make full, ample and speedy reparation. Thy former good dispositions lead us strongly to believe that thy backwardness will not be great to do this thing, and if thou so doest thy reward shall not be wanting unto thee.

True indeed it is that of thy existence and seeming felicity we have had knowledge by means of the communications of thy spirit to others, but as we ourselves do incline to be fully ascertained of these and many other particular which thy own good discretion will suggest better than we can enumerate, it is much to be wished and hoped thou will not from thy spirit of indolence, sloth, indifference or contradiction refuse to grant our request when we ask to have satisfaction on these heads from thy own hand immediately to us. Having therefore at great length argued on this matter,

passing it over, come we now to other subjects of lesser importance. And first of all it may not perhaps be unsatisfying to such as are removed so many miles from them to know that all thy friends do enjoy, so far as we know, their usual health and that there has not occurred any great or remarkable change in the cases of any whom we knew since you left us. As for the brethren of our number, McConochie and Bruce, they indeed must be excepted, for not having seen or heard of them these many days we know not but they are altogether changed, perhaps have passed from life to death.

Secondly, as for what is new or strange in this our place of abode nothing we can say; for, as is the phrase among the great folks who during the colder season take up their lodgement in it, there is not just now 'a soul in town.' However two great souls are expected ere long, who if they come will bring more souls after them, it is said, namely, the personages styled Duke of York from York and Marquis of Granby. Of the truth of this report I cannot, however, be certain.

This is now the 30th of the month August. We hope thy face shall be beheld in these realms on or before the 7th day of November next to come, *i.e.* the first meeting and convention of that society to which we have joined ourselves. Thy preference and the preference of all men of cool passions and sober reasons will be necessary for, from the one hand as well as the other, I presage there will be warmth of debate and zeal of opposition. The fire of either party has not, however, touched me yet. I wish to shun it as long as I can and to burn alone in the cause of truth, of liberty and virtue. Their friends whoe'er they are shall be my friends. Their foes (and them only) my foes. For yourself perhaps it will be as well you are absent, for however one acts they will disoblige some, but for the *bono publico* thy attendance is desirable. If this produces not a letter instantly thou art altogether an inexcusable fellow, and so we bid thee at this time in expecta-

tion of the like from thee heartily farewell and with much regard remains thy friend *et cetera*, NATHAN BROADBRIM, Secretary to the Order, who writes this from his apartments on Saturday 30th day of August 1766.

II. *John Bonar to William Creech*

November 1766.

DEAR WILLY,—I had your letter of November 3rd in course, I believe, and gave Mr. Adams his soon after. Business of various kinds and different degrees of importance has kept me from telling you so before now, and I may truly say I take the first opportunity that I could find from other avocations to give you my thanks for it.

You ask my sentiments of pleasure. Did you think when you made the request what an unbounded theme this is and how much more so it would become by a certain figure of speech peculiar to your correspondent, you certainly would have drawn back or else acquainted that you was not serious in this your desire. Had I complied in earnest you should not have finished my lucubration for some days after you received it. No! No! We have other subjects for a letter. This we leave to be canvassed either in debate or in discourse at the Society.

Of this Society then I mean now to speak, and you shall have by and by all its actions since our first sederunt. Well then know that on Friday the 14th (the preceding Friday being the week of the Sacrament on which account we were adjourned) it was opened by an introductory discourse from Mr. Charles Stuart¹ as appointed upon Reflection, the half of which we then had and the other half we get to-morrow, it

¹ Dr. Charles Stuart of Dunearn. He had studied for the ministry, which he entered and became minister of the parish of Cramond, but afterwards resigned this charge and studied medicine. He graduated as M.D. in 1795, and was a practising physician in Edinburgh until his death in 1828.

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being his turn to give an ordinary discourse. This over, the rolls were called. I acquainted them that their first member was at too great a distance either to be present or send a line, and moved that the same privilege which was conferred on Messieurs Touch,¹ Torrence,² Stuart and Kemp³ should be given you, *i.e.* of retaking your seat as formerly upon your return which was immediatly and unanimously gone into, so that now I hail you by the title of a non-residing member. The laws were then considered one by one. (*P.S.*) They had been considered before in Allan's,⁴ but this was the crowning work and debated upon and determined by majority. The unanimity law being unanimously set aside at the entrance during the time of the revisal, the chief alterations (which look for your approbation) were the following :—

The change of the night, Wednesday from Friday. This almost unanimous, the reasons may be gathered in the sequel.

The Society to rise upon the first in place of the last Wednesday of May, which was thought too long.

The regulation as to fines for absence on a better footing, viz. : that the president shall judge of the validity of excuses, either sickness or business, and as they seem good drop from all censure, or, if bad, fine in 6d. for each absence ; and this is the whole matter, so that excuses are now sustained you see which could not be done before.

The establishment of honorary members under these

¹ William Touch, who went out to Madras on the service of the Government, and so became a non-resident member of the Society. He died in 1800, at which time he was purser of H.M.S. *Theseus*.

² Rev. William Torrence, who became minister of the parish of Glencorse. He was a member of the Society for about three years. He died in 1836.

³ Dr. John Kemp, who became minister of the Tolbooth Parish Church, Edinburgh, and was for many years secretary of the S.P.C.K. He died in 1805.

⁴ This seems to have been an inn or coffee-house, kept by a Mrs. Bridget Allan, in which the Society occasionally met.

restrictions—a member having served diligently for four sessions may apply for that privilege and the Society may grant it as they see convenient. Their privileges are to attend and perform only when they chuse and to vote, etc., when present in all affairs that come before the Society.

The appointment of junior members—These are (such as Ally Kincaid or so) who hear only, and are not allowed to speak but by special permission, and these juniors after two years (unless for special reasons dropped from) as such are received as ordinary members, by which means they will always be a fresh crop to supply the place of those that may go out as honorary fellows. Only five in the session can be admitted and we have got none yet, but are promised several honourables for this place.

These are the chief alterations that regard our constitution once more reduced into 12 *capita* and guarded by the fortress of unanimity, which was well nigh falling; carrying to be continued only by the President's casting vote. (*N.B.* I was as well pleased you were absent then.)

What thinkest thou? Upon first view perhaps of some you disapprove, but I assure you all were well weighed before hand and can be well defended. This winter shall be our most glorious winter, so attend and hear me out.

After these were over 5 petitions were read and next night 5 members were admitted—1. Alexander Belsches!—convinced of his error and weary of his company, tho' still a member, or as he wrote on his new petition F.R.C. 2. David Boswell,¹ a precise-speaking gentleman. 3. William Currie²

¹ David Boswell was the third son of Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, a lord of Session, and so brother of James Boswell of Auchinleck, the friend and biographer of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Having gone to Spain for a mercantile career, he became a non-resident member of the Society. Later he was employed in the British Navy Office, and died in 1826.

² This member died within a few months after his admission.

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with George Chalmers,¹ an excellent serious lad. 4. William Dallas² (whom you know well) and 5. William Laurie³ (whom you also ken). More are promising daily, so that our number will be soon filled up. Torrence is come to town and will be with us. Kemp comes soon and all our others attend well and seem very keen. Only on our first night was read the Demission of John Hepburn (who being informed that a majority were against him and determined on his extrusion, sensibly withdrew).

Holla Boy! is not this the thing? But more we have (in our old class) 7 candles each night, a lamp (belonging to the Society) on the stairhead—the door open and Allan's David in waiting to serve us. Besides a chartor chest in the room that contains all our papers, tickets, goods and gear.

If you were to come down you would scarce know us, we are become such gentlemen. Our members too come oft in chairs to the house and are carried in them from it. Allan (because of his sore leg which he got kicked because he went to the Riding School on the preparation day before the Sacrament, but of which he is now well almost again) and Stuart on account of swelled cheeks and toothake. The Rhetorical is a joke to us, nothing can or will now stand before us. We'll drain them of all their good fellows and they are welcome to the chaff.

So much as to externals. Our second or rather first ordinary meeting was on Wednesday last the 19th, when these members were admitted and all came in except Currie who was sick. It was my turn to discourse and this I did from—The importance of virtue to the happiness of society, first in

¹ This is probably a mistake for William Chalmers (afterwards Bethune of Blebo), W.S., who ceased to be a member in 1769. He died in 1807.

² William Dallas was a son of James Dallas of Cantray, who is said to have been killed at the battle of Culloden. He went to India and amassed a considerable fortune, whereby he hoped to recover the paternal estates; but both he and it were cast away by shipwreck as he was returning home in 1773.

³ He was a member only for a year.

general and then to the S.S. in part.—The Skithera Verborum. We had a noble speaking upon the causes of greater corruption in towns than in country places and an excellent one on that subject from R. Whyte who brightens daily.

Do, you fellow of the Robinhood, send us questions and every thing from them that we want may be of use to us. Send your discourses too in turn as was promised in your name. I'll give you notice when it comes to you 5 or 6 weeks before.

Our question to-morrow is about the intrinsic usefulness of poetry and painting—that after it on the privilege of kings to pardon criminals. The theatre (again) I make to follow it.

On Wednesday after business was done we adjourned in order to sup together (the new members with us) in Sommer's,¹ and the first object that presented itself on our entering was the worthy and respectable George Muat drunk sitting in a chair. He had not been at the Society, our Society at least, tho' he was in another of a different sort and came to get more with us. He spoilt all our entertainment, for he would neither go away nor fall asleep but roared and spoke nonsense perpetually. C. S. and he sat next one another and who was so offended at the behaviour and insult that (being president) he called an extraordinary meeting, Friday last, to give in questions and consider of this member's conduct. It met. Mr. Muat (and his shadow) Mr. Kay, were absent. Some members were (privately) for an instant extrusion, but it was moved and gone into that a letter should be sent him commanding his attendance on Wednesday (to-morrow) then to answer for his conduct. If he confesses his fault and promises more circumspection in future it will be ended by a rebuke from the president (*i.e.* unlucky me). If he is bold, defends himself and will not show sorrow he will assuredly be extruded. How it shall end then I know not. I have no vote and am prepared for his coming either way, but really between you and me he is so far gone now that we would be as well without

¹ A tavern in the High Street, opposite the Guard House.

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him. I am sure now you owe me something for this long particular letter. I ask nothing in return but a speedy and as long an answer. If you make Bruce's letter of the size of Mr. Adam's or so you may inclose it to me under Mr. Caw's cover, but they are remarkably strict now and of late in that thing. Continue to write me, however, in that way, only you need no cover. Just direct my letter for Mr. Caw; as I know your hand, will get it first and open it. A 6d. to the King besides is saved.

I delivered all your compliments and commissions. The former are returned to you by every body. We (torn) at the supper much and drank your health. When will you be with us really? I attend no classes as yet—am only entered into the D[ivinity] Hall. I write for the present with Mr. Wharton in the Solicitors office of Excise as he wants a clerk.

Farewell, I neither mind nor, tho' I did, would I add any more. Yes! the minister in room of D. Kay¹ (only) is to be chosen to-morrow in the good old way by the General Kirk Sessions. I have compiled and published a book just now. There is one copy of it in London (getting Mr. Madan's recommendation to it) but more will follow. I have been *solus* here. Adieu, yours affectionately, JOHN BONAR.

Teusday, 25 Nov. 1766, Mid-day.

III. *John Bonar to William Creech*

30th December 1766.

DEAR WILLY,—You have all the thanks I can offer for your long—curious—agreeable—and entertaining letter of date the 10th December, the first part of which came to my hands safe the 17th and the last the 21st. By myself it made me happy. At a meeting in Allan's it made us merry. Happy

¹ Dr. George Kay, D.D., minister of Old Greyfriars Church, who died on 10th April 1766.

were its effects—exhilarating our spirits, gladdening our hearts and moving our laughters. Thanks from me. Thanks from all of us for it. Only go on and you shall . . . continue to be thanked.

Well but now, preambling aside, I know you will be anxious to know the sequel of my narrative. You have cause. We stopt at an important period and if intelligence elsehow has not reached you I see how eager you are to snatch at the offered information. That you may be no longer held in dreadful suspense I shall go on where I left off and defer the answer to your letter to the end.

Wednesday, November 26th, my last was dated upon. In the forenoon I think before the meeting of Society at the extraordinary meeting on the Friday before I told you a letter was sent to Mr. Muat commanding his attendance next night, in consequence whereof he appeared (Kay absent at that and all the other meetings). I sat in the chair and proposed that the most important business should be entered on first, viz. the conduct of Mr. M. that came before us by a reference from the preceeding meeting. It was agreed. Muat silent, I then addressed myself to him not sharply but seriously, telling him of his offence and the reproach such behaviour must bring no less on himself than this Society. I concluded by desiring from him (as appointed by the Society) an acknowledgement that he was sorry for his offence and intended to behave more becomingly for the future. According to his answer to these questions would the Society, I informed him, judge of his sentence. The president done, the pannel rose and with a loud voice, threatening aspect, oaken stock and declamatory tone, inveighed against us all as the offspring of fanaticism, hypocrisy and vice—did not answer a question nor so much as palliate his conduct but directing his speech against particular members loaded them with unmanerly abuse. For the first time then he stopped. All the members were called upon to speak their sentiments not only upon his past but present

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behavior. They all did so, honestly and boldly. However as the Society saw Mr. M. so enflamed by passion as to be unable to give a cool return to the questions, they agreed upon a motion that these should be put down on paper signed by the president and given him in writing that an explicit answer might be made by letter, which letter was to be given in at next meeting, and so the cause that evening ended. Mr. Muat went away immediately after.

Wednesday, December 3rd. A letter came—was opened and read informing that prompted by curiosity and withheld by the pride of ineffable contempt he had listened (Most Upright Signiors) to our deliberations merely with a view of drawing the signed questions into his possession that he might exhibit them as a singular piece of fanaticism and a proof how far hypocrisy could go when supported by blind credulity and political jobbing; that when he entered the Society he thought us gent(lemen) but now finds us fools or fanatics and thinks himself happy in being warned by a casual discovery against those precipices which blind credulity had adopted and dissimulation assented as the barriers of vice. He cautioned us not to take any liberties with his character else he would really convert the meek phisiognomies of some of our members into that sanctified grin which the pious elevation of their noses seems to indicate, and that if we did it would be at the small expence of beaktwisting without compunction or benefit of clergy. He addresses himself (by a figure) to the junior members and begs that some of the rising genius's would take the lead and rescue the well-meant institution from the pest of fanaticism (a great word you see of his) and sneerings of contempt. He means this, says he, as a demission; but if a regard for virtue should bring forth the dreadful anathema of posthumous extrusion let the trumpets of scandal echo the insignificant blast thro' the precincts of speculative correspondence. These were the most remarkable things in the letter, from which extract you'll see it was well wrote and

with great (tho' wicked) spirit. Now, what would you have advised to be done? After 3 several nights in which we called him to repentance and were ready to receive the penitent, to have this return we thought was proof of being irreclaimable. With the same unanimity therefore that we proceeded in every former step we refused his demission and ordered his extrusion of which he was acquainted by a most laconic letter. Under the inspection of the Society a minute of the whole procedure was drawn up and entered on the Record and so was the end of G. Muat. John Bruce was particularly the object of his rage during this affair and against him he threatened corporal violence. A. Mc. also came in for a good share; W. no less. I was pretty much out of the scrape tho' I spoke as violently against him as any man, but he told me he did not so much blame me for I was led into [the] thing (a compliment) and too much under influence. All these three, and indeed all the members of the Society know him no more; they don't speak when they pass on the street. As we are connected together a little in the Excise office he and I do speak but thats all—so much—too much for this man.

Kay's demission (as expected) came the night thereafter. It was a whole sheet wrote full of curious scurrility in defence of his friend Mr. M. in which he related a conversation that had (was said to have) passed betwixt them on the affair, just that he might get a touch at all the members worth touching. Bruce entered every sentence. Political hypocrite was his character. The authors of the Society were introduced as pious, unintelligible poems which would serve (he—or rather they said, for we saw M. in it clearly) to feed many a hungry night hawker, B——r's (my) well meant ill executed anecdotes (my last book) which would grace the walls of some alehouse, McC——'s incomprehensible essays that would be useful to the votaries of Cloacina, and Boswell's (for he is a great newspaper author) letters to Lord Chatham and discourses on the bad effects of fornication (in the *Ed[inburgh] Adv[ertiser]*) that would

give 2d. per lb. in the snuff shops. The result of the conversation was that Mr. M. was to bring upon the stage this winter a farce in which we were all to be exposed and the letter concluded by Mr. Kay's serious advice to present a Bill of Submission to Mr. M. signed by all the members according to their seniority and attested by Mrs. Bridget Allan and Mr. Alexander Adams (at full length) sponsors for our good behavior. The spirit that breathed in this letter (which was worse indeed than that of M.'s) gave us no room to doubt that Kay also was irreclaimable, therefore we accepted of his demission and ordered his name to be struck off the list. Him too we know no more and so this ends for ever our connection with two young men whose pasts I esteemed and whose characters untill May last or so I thought fair and liked. In their present state they were very unfit for us, therefore we are as well free of them. But I cannot help pitying them both and praying that they may be led to see their danger ere it be too late, and brought to know the error of their way.

As to the other proceedings of the Society they are not very material. Such as they are you shall have them. A. Belsches was put into his old place again and is now once more brother constituent. Just the same man as before only somewhat improved in point of speaking. Andrew Plummer,¹ upon a confession and sincere signs of repentance was readmitted the other evening. Just the same man also as before, not one bit improved. Kemp is come to town and with us. Currie has been sick and never able to go abroad since he was admitted. However, there are 17 of us who attend regularly (bating exceptions now and then). C. Stuart gave both his introductory discourse and ordinary discourse (within 10 days of other) upon Reflection. Thomas Caw (who dare not, tho' he had inclined, associate with K. and M.) on the Choice of company; W. Torrence on Virtue, very hetrodox and sadly

¹ Andrew Plummer, afterwards of Sunderland Hall, Advocate, and Sheriff of Selkirk, who died in 1799. He was famed for his magnificent library.

labored by C. S. but defended by the rest; McMurtrie¹ on Persecution, a most noble essay, and Wilson² last night on Pride, very plain and good. We don't meet to-morrow on account of the holidays. We have had for questions (why don't you send us your list from the Robinhood) the Intrinsic excellence of poetry and painting, the Power of the king to pardon criminals, the Theatre over again (a most glorious debate till 10 at night) and the Usefulness of money, and will have at two next meetings the Usefulness of the arts and sciences and the Comparative happiness of youth, manhood and old age. We now speak all to the question, that is to say, in place of criticising on the performance of those who spoke before (which used to be the only thing many of us could do) we enter on the subject itself, and defer all remarks to the end. This gives us much better debates than formerly. Oh! were you with us again, man! When will it be?

So much for Speculative intelligence. As to other news if you read our papers you know almost as much as I. You would see Dr. Erskine in them. You would read the names of our players (terrible to join the Doctor in such company) and I know no more about them. You would read of fires in town, you would read that some are dying, some are marrying and some are born and that things go on as they did when you were with us. Mr. Leigh has clandestinely married Robin Hamilton's youngest daughter. The Xtmass vacation deadens us a little. They begin now to talk of a 2d minister, some of Dr. Fordyce, some of Dr. Oswald, some of Mr. Gillespie at St. Andrews and some of Mr. Scott at Perth. That's all we know. All are well.

And now to answer those parts of your letter that require one. A. McConochie had the valedictory discourse, C. S. the introductory one. Your privilege was granted unanimously

¹ The Rev. John M'Murtrie, minister of Kilmarnock, who died in 1785. Burns mentions him in his poem 'The Ordination.'

² Andrew Wilson, who was a member for only two years.

indeed. I am happy you approve of the alterations in the laws, 'tis a good sign they are right. The revisers were just the three (chiefly that's to say) you mention. All patriots as firm and bold as ever. I wish your reverie, as you call it, had continued during the whole time of your writing the letter. 'Twas great indeed. Oh! let me have another in my next.

As to honorary members, why it was seen necessary and therefore agreed. The hardship of your case and the objections to the manner in which we put the law were all the subjects of consideration at the making of it. It was, however, judged proper that the general rule should be enacted, but on Wednesday evening last at Allan's I laid anew the case before the three constituents, Mc.C., Bruce and Belsches, and read to them what is said by you upon it, when it was ordered and agreed 'That Mr Creech should be acquainted that upon sending his discourses in his turn or getting one to give or read them for him he should be accounted as performing diligently the business of the Society and against the time provided be thereby entitled to apply for an honorary privilege.' As this is the unanimous voice of the 4 first on the Roll there is no doubt but it will be the voice of the majority of the Society at least and have the public sanction. Therefore, as secretary, I inform you that (unless we get some more new members upon Wednesday the 25th February) you are in the rotation to give a discourse which it is expected you will send to me or Allan or anybody before then that it may be read before the venerable body of the S.S. If you do that, all will be well, for it won't come again to your turn all this season. Debates and enquiries you shall not be troubled with. Do therefore set about it immediatly and tho' absent you shall be said to have attended diligently and become the first of our honorary fellows.

The proposal you mention as to the junior members getting a night now and then for themselves was mentioned

and understood upon the law's taking place and will be gone into whenever we have any such hearers. But we have got none yet and will not be in haste to admit any, as many of us are uncertain as to the expediency of that measure. Had we received any you may be sure I would have told you. I tell you a'thing. You want to know about our new men and the first unknown is D. Boswell. He is precise, that's true; conceited also, perhaps, but has deceived us much, for we imagined with you he'd been very high, great speaker and the like, whereas he speaks little but sensibly enough and is very modest, so that we have occasion to encourage rather than to slice him. He is clever, we are told, and believe it, for everything he has done among us yet was very neat.

2. W. Currie is (as I said before the reason) unknown to us yet.
3. W. Dallas does excessively well, speaks frequently, sensibly and genteelly. I like him much and William Laurie does no harm, at least get's good perhaps in hearing us.

Our faithful servant, David, we remember at this time to give him something for his Christmas.

As to our happiness at the supper it was (as I believe I wrote before) much interrupted by the spectacle that presented itself at the head of the table (in Sommer's) otherwise we did well enough and rose by half past 11. W. was president and 15 I think made the company. It was the first night of the admission of the new members who were all there but Currie.

Allan and Bruce bid me mind their compliments when I wrote. They both will be happy in having a letter, but both are lazy, I believe, in writing one. I don't like one piece of information that your last paragraph but one has given me, that your next will be shorter than the last. It should not and it must not. This of mine is longer than my first. So should yours and so I hope it will. You did right, however, in making two packets of it, one would have been too large. The half was big enough. If you can procure franks I should

like it as well you made use of them to write me as the office letters are sometimes looked into, but when you cannot, use Mr. Caw's name as before, and if it be just a single letter, nothing more than one piece, you may direct it for myself, 'Solicitor's Office of Excise, Edinburgh,' for you must know I am a sort of interim clerk there and can claim that privilege but do not like to venture much upon it at first. I attend from 11 to 2, the Hebrew from 9 to 10 and the Moral Philosophy from 10 to 11, D. Blair again at 4. The Hall I never go near.

My book is titled *The Triumphs of Faith* and is an account of the power of religion upon [the] mind in sickness and at death, exemplified in the experience of the most eminent Christians from Stephen the Martyr down to Leland and Pearsall and Jones in 1766; sells at 3/- and contains 364 pages 12^{mo}. Mr. Whitefield (I am sure of) and Mr. Madan and Mr. Romaine are to recommend it. They had all copies sent them and there are 300 with a London title said to be printed for Dilly & Kieth. I thank you for the offer of serving me in the sale of it, but I have no concern with that and don't remember anything just now that you could oblige me in, unless it be by giving me soon a long particular letter. For the enormity of this I should certainly apologise '*Est modus in rebus*' undoubtedly but I was in the humor of writing and had nothing else to employ me this forenoon so must excuse it and believe me, dear W., yours affectionately, JOHN BONAR. Edinburgh, Teusday 30th December 1766. The compliments of the season I wish you. I am glad you are a hearer of Mr. Madan.

IV. *John Bonar to William Creech*

April 1767.

MY DEAR WILLY,—I have long ere this time unquestionably forfeited all that opinion of punctuality and good correspondentship which you might formerly have entertained of

me. Appearances are indeed much against me, but as I know you are a man of reason, will trouble you *imprimis* with a recital of the causes of this strange silence ; for to obviate prejudices against the speaker or subject I have ever been told is the chief design for an introduction. The first part of this letter therefore must necessarily be employed for that purpose else the remaining parts of it cannot be read with pleasure.

Do you know this is the fourth time I have sit down to answer your agreeable favor (as the phrase is) ? Once I had finished a page, another while I got a line and once I had formed a few letters. How these things should come about, proceed, my pen, now briefly to relate.

I formerly told you of my appointment as Deputy Solicitor of Excise. There being no other clerk in that department but me a deal of business fell in course to my share. I had yours of the 13th January just as we were preparing for Candlemas term in the Exchequer. There we had half a dozen trials which kept me employed as hard as could well be to the end of February almost when from that hand I had some leisure.

But no sooner was I out of one hurry than into another employment. I wrote for the press 273 4^o pages of Principal Robertson's Introductory Dissertation to his History of Charles v. which will be published, I imagine, beginning of next winter. This occupied all my evening hours (except Wednesdays, nothing but Speculation (excepting once) have I ever allowed to occupy these) and my letter writing time for at least a month.

I was by somebody told you had left London and had gone to France or Holland. Another person said you were to be down here immediatly, both of which operated in preventing my writing so long till I was certainly informed by Mr. Adams of their falsity. I always looked for that letter you promised and thought to answer both at once but never

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saw it. I had a good deal of work laid on me lately by the S.S. (who indulged me in my throning) and I had for some days an aversion to writing from choice at all because I had been forced to write so much of necessity.

Put all these things together and see whether they amount to a full vindication of my conduct. If in this they fail, try them with an alleviation and for the balance I trust to your goodness, promising better deeds in time to come.

And now, preliminaries settled, differences made up, let us go on to the contents of your last, discuss them and conclude by fresh intelligence of all that's going.

I follow your order in this first exercise so cannot be answerable for closeness of connection or compactness of parts.

Why have not you made good your word? In getting some franks directed for me and filling quires of paper thick wrote? You have not been able perhaps. Well it does not signify, for as I continue in my office (and shall do so till ready to step from the Law to the Gospel) I have now the privilege of allowing my friends to direct their letters immediately for myself 'at the Solicitor's Office, Excise, Edinburgh' provided they exceed not a sheet or so, being afraid to venture too much too soon, and when they do can have them covered to Mr. Caw. So you'll attend to this in future and act accordingly.

Your letters are always acceptable, so no apologies.

The affairs of the Society with my reply to your observations on what you have heard and questions for new information together with accounts to this date shall have a distinct enumeration by themselves.

N.B. Mind your questions from the Robinhood.

How provoking a fellow! Towards the end to say you had many curious things to relate and in a line or two afterwards stop. Call then every one to your remembrance again and let me have them by first post. All your intelligences are

communicated. They make not me but many happy and merry. Won't this prompt you, man! instant to snatch the pen and gratify thy fellows? 'In my next you shall have plenty.' See it be so then.

As to your offspring, know it still survives the attempts of faction (from abroad alone) the power of rivals and the strength of foes. Speculation flourishes, its sons improve, its fame spreads far, thy parent presence is only wanted and hoped for soon.

We are happy in your approbation of our conduct in the only difficult matter that has come this session before us and no less happy that it is long before this all well over. We were indeed gentle upon the whole, but that is a good fault. I think as you do, the questions being delivered to M. in writing was unnecessary, if not improper. You cannot judge of his letter sufficiently from the scraps I gave but should you read the whole, allowing for bombast at times and on strict interpretation nonsense at others, you'll find spirit and wild genius in it. I expect that you'll have in your hands soon the original. In the memorable transaction you rested in silence. Bruce behaved all along with his usual caution. M. threatened him indeed but it went no farther than threats. I know of no performances of Allan's that are published, so suppose Kay in his letter of demission meant his metaphysical discourses. Boswell! An author of the first magnitude, weekly essays flow from his pen. The *Evening Courant*, *Caledonian Mercury*, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *London Chronicle* have each in their turn been graced with his works. Notwithstanding of all which he seldom or ever speaks in the S. without trembling, often stopping.

As to your discourses. From what I said above you may have seen 'twas entirely out of my power to give one for you on the 25 February which happened to be the very busiest period of my time, and I could not prevail on any one to take it. However that was of no signification, for it has

been agreed (*sub rosa*) by the majority that if you read or send one at any time before the Roll is finished (which wont be till the middle of next session) it will be held good and legal and as diligent performance of business entitle you to the consequent privileges. In respect to this matter then there is no difficulty. You'll be present to settle everything yourself ere that.

Of new members I speak according to chronological order. No juniors yet for a cause formerly hinted at ; no new alterations in laws unless it be in the execution of them, which is a good deal more lax than it was in your time, both as to absence and other things ; for as we advance in life and engage in business the former strictness was found not to answer so well.

Since my last letter of the 30th December (I blush while I write) the following is the substance of our minutes and the chief of our occurrences :—

7th January. Boswell chose president—Mr. Kemp returned—Tytler, Discourse on supernatural appearances. (So so.)

Debate—Whether a neat plain style or a florid descriptive manner in general most convincing.

14th. Mr. Whyte.¹ Discourse on the love of life and fear of death—(Simple performance).

Enquiry—Does superior understanding confer superior happiness ?

21. Mr. Kemp—Discourse on the vanity of human faces (careless but sensible).

Debate—Love or friendship the noblest passion ?

28. Mr. Boswell—Discourse on Charity—(pretty good).

Enquiry—The causes of the rise and suppression of chivalry.

4 February. Mr Dallas—Discourse on the advantages and study of knowledge. (Wanted spirit, but other-

¹ Robert Whyte, Advocate, who died in 1775.

wise good.) *N.B.* This member still continues to make a good one.

Debate—Are severe penalties a proper method of banishing crimes from a state ?

This night a letter of demission was read and accepted from C. S. The former heat over indifference now succeeds. The mobility of the man joined to idleness was the cause. He is at present telling us he is to apply again and if we would ask him to come there would be no difficulty I believe to bring him. If he is not (he says) reinstated this session he'll petition at . . . (torn) . . . sitting down of next. A good lad with many . . . (torn) . . . of which inconstancy is the chief. He attends the . . . (torn) . . . class this winter (much against inclination) and has come in from D. for that purpose to a room in town. The same man you ever knew him.

11th. Mr. Laurie—Discourse on music (I absent and did not hear it).

Enquiry—Whether atheism or superstition has produced the worst effects in society.

18th. No discourse, Plummer disappointed us.

Debate—The good and bad effects of trade.

25. Plummer repeated the transgression and fined 2s. 6d. Lewis Gordon¹ (a friend of J. B.'s from the north country, an M.A. at Aberdeen College and sensible lad) admitted a member and the last on the roll.

Enquiry—Whether genius or application should be preferred.

4 March. Mr. McConochie—Discourse on harmony—(deep ! deep !).

Debate—Whether the characteristic modesty of the fair sex be natural or acquired.

¹ Dr. Lewis Gordon, minister first at Drainie and afterwards at Elgin. He died in 1824.

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11. Mr. Belsches—Discourse on sobriety (sober enough).
Debate—The Treason Laws or the utility and equity of forfeitures. Mr. Belsches ordered to conclude the 3d session with a valedictory discourse on 6th May.
18. Mr. Bruce—Discourse, The discovery of truth and detection of fallacy—(profound).
Debate—Can the immortality of the soul be proved from the mere light of nature ?
25. No discourse—Plummer offended again, and paid 1/.
Enquiry—The equity and policy of . . . (torn) . . . of primogeniture.
- 1 April. Mr. Bonar—Discourse, The original of language—(not his own).
Debate—Is revenge contrary to the law of nature ?
- 8th. Mr. Gordon—Discourse, The foundation of moral obligation. It was also appointed the subject of enquiry that day fortnight.
- And this is a faithful abstract from the Book of Minutes.
J. BONAR, Secretary.

At present there are seldom more than a dozen attends. Torrence is gone a few weeks since to the country. Kemp (who leaves a great blank in the article of speaking) took his leave for this session last night and sets out for Perthshire in a day or two. Laurie stays at Craigmillar and is often away (which loss does not greatly affect us, by the by, the corporal preference being the chief of him). Currie we have never yet seen as he has all this winter been confined by a consumptive disorder and seldom goes out. Boswell's business makes him uncertain and some or other of the rest are now and then away.

As to speaking—Tytler, Dallas, Belsches and Whyte usually speak once on the question. McConochie, Bruce, Bonar, McMurtrie and Kemp several times on every subject,

and the rest when appointed or now and then as inclination leads them.

In short we are pretty much in the state we were towards the beginning of the session and have lost nothing this winter. Several new members are promised when we sit down again, but of these I can say nothing, 'tis at such a distance. The Rhetorical Society by its brilliancy and numbers and gentility has bore hard upon us all along, you know, but we hope to see it at an end, for by their laws no member can be so above 3 years and all their best have exhausted in January next that time.

There's a thing I should have wrote you anent before this. Mr. Caw is to get from Mr. Kincaid a copy of the *Biographia Britannica*, 6 or 7 volumes folio ; Mr. Kincaid says he wrote you to procure it and Mr. Caw bid me put you in mind of it for it has never come, so that I shall beg of you to exert yourself in that matter for getting a good edition and best paper and sending it down as soon as possible, it being a book from which I promise myself much intertainment and in getting of which I am much interested. Do attend to this thing then and you'll oblige me much.

You'll see our newspapers no doubt, consequently will know of the most material of our news and have heard of the playhouse riot, of deaths, births and marriages ; Extension Bill for enlarging the Royalty, about which I was employed 3 or 4 days too in writing letters (for D. Webster and the Provost) to members of Parliament ; great and small canal ; application for a licensed theatre here (against which I published a 3d pamphlet that has given great offence to the Principal, who was very active in that and all the rest of his associates) ; and election of members to the Assembly, the character of which is at present very doubtful.

All friends are well and going on as usual. Have you seen Ferguson's book ? What's said of it and of Dr. Oswald's at London ? Mr. McCaulay's 3 volume I have read with rapture.

Tell me about publications and every thing that's worth. I need not specify what the contents of your letter shall be, you know my taste. Let it be a delicious morsel. If it is not at me in 10 or 12 days I'll imagine you're not satisfied with my apologies, angry at me or have given me up.

If you knew with what gust I open and peruse a large packet your benevolent soul would anticipate my wishes. Farewell then just now. Remember me and believe that I am yours affectionately, JOHN BONAR. Edinburgh, Friday 10th April 1767. *P.S.* Bruce and I, do you know, waited on Professor Hamilton Saturday last and got prescribed a lecture, his 19th Psalm from beginning to the 12th verse, mine from 12 verse to the end. We often speak of Creech. You never say when we shall be able to speak to him. Come, I beseech you, to our supper on the 6th May. Bakerfaced Andrew Wilson will supply the place of the Watergate luminary to bring us some fun.

Have you read my *Triumphs*? What think you? Do you hear anything how they are liked or how they sell.

I must have done. No. W. Gloag of Cockpen comes as minister to town and Tom Mitchell they say goes to Cockpen in opposition to all the people who found their objection on this that he has not a mouthful of common-sense.

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APPENDIX

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

Etc.

Old Edinburgh Club

1912

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Honorary President

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH.
SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.
PROFESSOR P. HUME BROWN, LL.D.
PROFESSOR JOHN CHIENE, C.B.

President

WALTER B. BLAIKIE, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents

HIPPOLYTE J. BLANC, R.S.A.
BRUCE J. HOME.
WILLIAM COWAN.

Honorary Secretary

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 40 Princes Street.

Honorary Treasurer

HUGH CARBARNES, 25 Braidburn Crescent.

Council

W. FRASER DOBIE, 47 Grange Road.
JOHN A. FAIRLEY, 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.
W. MOIR BRYCE, Dunedin, Blackford Road.
THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.
WILLIAM ANGUS, H.M. Register House.
ALEXANDER CARGILL, 18 Wester Coates Gardens.
ANDREW E. MURRAY, W.S., 43 Castle Street.
JAMES STEUART, W.S., 10 Rothesay Terrace.
REV. W. BURNETT, B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.
JOHN B. CLARK, M.A., F.R.S.E., Heriot's Hospital.
GEORGE LORIMER, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.
ROBERT T. SKINNER, M.A., F.R.S.E., Donaldson's Hospital.

Honorary Auditor.

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., 34 York Place.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Room, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 29th January 1913, at 4 o'clock.

Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, an Honorary Vice-President of the Club, presided. There was a good attendance of Members.

Apologies were intimated from the Right Hon. the Earl of Cassillis, Mr. Charles E. Price, M.P., Rev. W. Russell Finlay, Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, R.S.A., Mr. John B. Clark, M.A., and others.

The Secretary submitted the Fifth Annual Report, which is in the following terms:—

The Council beg to submit to the Club the Fifth Annual Report.

During the year there were 13 vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain 67 names on the list of applicants waiting admission.

The following meetings were held.

9th February 1912, at Moubray House—Annual Meeting of Cockburn Association. Lantern Lecture by Mr. Andrew E. Murray, W.S., on 'The Work of the Association during the past Thirty-five Years.'

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27th March 1912, in Y.M.C.A. Rooms. Lecture by Mr. William Cowan on 'The Site of the Blackfriars Monastery,' with Lantern Illustrations.

18th May 1912. Visit to Duddingston Church and Neighbourhood. Leader, Mr. William Baird.

7th June 1912. Walk—Castlehill to Netherbow. Leaders, Mr. William Cowan and Mr. Robert T. Skinner.

22nd June 1912. Visit to Restalrig Church and Churchyard, St. Triduana's Well and Chapel. Leader, Rev. W. Burnett, B.D.

24th October 1912, in Dowell's Rooms. Lecture by Mr. John Harrison on 'Holyrood as Monastery and Palace,' with Lantern Illustrations.

13th December 1912, in Dowell's Rooms. Lecture by Mr. William Moir Bryce on 'Edinburgh Castle,' with Lantern Illustrations. At this meeting it was remitted to the Council to make application to His Majesty's Government to take steps to see that Queen Margaret's Book of the Gospels, formerly Crown property, and presently in the possession of the Bodleian Library, be restored to Edinburgh.

The Editorial Committee have selected the following papers to form the volume for 1912 of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, viz. :—

1. A Contemporary Account of the Defence of Edinburgh in 1745 and the Battle of Prestonpans, with Map, by Mr. W. B. Blaikie.
2. The Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*continued*). Extracts from Original Records, by Mr. John A. Fairley.
3. Extracts from Minute Book of the Corporation of Skinners, by Mr. William Angus.
4. The Site of the Blackfriars Monastery, by Mr. William Cowan.

5. St. Margaret's Chapel, by Mr. William Moir Bryce.
6. Four Letters from John Bonar, W.S., to William Creech on the Speculative Club, by Rev. Henry Paton.
7. Moubray House, by Mr. Andrew E. Murray.

The Council will be pleased to know of any unpublished manuscripts relating to Edinburgh, which the owners might be willing to place at the disposal of the Club for publication.

The Treasurer submitted the financial statement, from which it appeared that the balance in hand was £167, 10s.

Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, in moving the adoption of the Report, said he had again the honour of being asked to preside over the annual meeting of members of the Old Edinburgh Club. It was not every year that they could get their Hon. President to perform this duty, a duty which he could perform better than anybody else, and he was sure they all regretted his absence to-day. Lord Rosebery evidently thinks it is best to have some variety at these meetings, and that it is not politic that one man only should be the yearly figurehead at them. He cordially agreed with his Lordship, and he was rather surprised that when there is a panel of Hon. Vice-Presidents to select from, the choice should again have fallen on him, when any of the others would have been an equally if not more efficient substitute than himself. However, there is one comforting thought, and that is, that the task is perhaps not a very arduous one. He did not need to come before them with any apology for the existence of the Society nor with any appeals for recruits or funds. Nothing, he thought, could be more satisfactory than their present position. Their membership was full. They had sixty-seven on the waiting list, and they had £167 in the hands of the Treasurer. That was quite sufficient for the publication of their annual volume, and for any other modest expenses. Since they last met they had published an Annual which was not inferior in interest to any of their previous publications. Opening with an admirable account of that interesting character, George Drummond, one of the greatest Provosts that ever filled the civic chair, and to whom they owed the inception of the New Town, the Infirmary, and other important projects which had left their mark on the city, they had next another instalment of Mr. Geddie's account of the sculptured stones of Edinburgh, which he was

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sure they had all read with very great interest and pleasure. Then they had a description of the Old Tolbooth, the Heart of Midlothian, with which was associated so much both of squalor and romance. He did not think it had ever been treated so fully, but what was particularly characteristic in the article was the extremely curious series of extracts from the records of the old prison in the seventeenth century. These records threw a good deal of light upon the manners and customs of the time, and a great deal of otherwise, he thought, unknown family history. He was glad to see they were to have another instalment in the next volume. He thought these extracts from the records were of the utmost value and interest. The account of Bartholomew Somervell's monument showed how an interesting historic memorial got transported from Edinburgh to Perthshire, while the manner in which the Society of Friendly Contributors of Restalrig had been treated was a proof that even a comparatively prosaic subject might be dealt with in a way that made it both instructive and interesting, and that mutual insurance was not such a modern thing as they were, perhaps, apt to think it was. Mr. Oldrieve's paper on recent excavations and researches at Holyrood was not the least valuable item in the volume. Mr. Oldrieve had made Holyrood his own, and he did not think anybody knew more of its structure and general plans.

He could only allude generally to the series of lectures and walks which were delivered and taken in the course of last year. They were all largely attended and much appreciated by the members. He was sure that the walks especially do a great deal to create an intelligent interest in the antiquities of Edinburgh. Their very success sometimes makes them less useful than they might be, because if one hundred people go a walk together it is impossible for all to hear the expositions of the conductors. It is difficult to manage practically, but no doubt more walks and fewer people at them are the idea and remedy. Judging from the contents of the forthcoming volume of the Club Book, it should yield in interest to none of its predecessors. He reminded the members of their duties to the Club, and to the city of which they had the good fortune to be inhabitants. Their primary interest, of course, was in the antiquities of the town and their preservation so far as possible, and if any of them from necessity—as sometimes must happen—must pass from them, at all events let them chronicle them, however humble they might be, for it was often the humble things that reflected the life of the period more than the great things. But they had other duties. They were, no doubt, the heirs of

the ages, but they must remember that they, too, and this Edinburgh of theirs, would be antiquities some day. Therefore they must leave to their posterity an Edinburgh better than they found it. One of the advantages of a Club like that was that it helped to cultivate a public spirit. From want of this, and from want of a little foresight, they had lost much that never could be regained. For instance, had they foreseen to what extent Edinburgh would grow, he did not think they would have allowed so many of the entrances to the town to have been through such narrow and sordid streets.

They lived, perhaps, in an age when town building might start off on new lines. They or their children might quite see, for instance, the passing of the tenement system. Personally, he should not be sorry. The tenement was originally introduced, or rather, perhaps, developed, from the necessity of economising space so as to be under the protection of the castle. When Richard II. invaded Scotland and came to Edinburgh, he stayed there five days, and burnt it up 'clene.' But tenements were evidently not then in fashion, and the sturdy inhabitants said, 'Though the Englyshmanne burn our houses we care 'lytell therefor! we shall make them again chepe ynough; we ax but 'three days to make them again if we may get four or five stakes and 'bowes to cover them.'

He thought the tenement system had done a great deal of harm to Scotland. Of course, if tenements went, they should evolve small self-contained houses or flatted villas, or things of that sort, and then they were much apt to fall into another misfortune. Nothing was more dreadfully dreary than those long lines of little brick boxes which they passed mile after mile in the outskirts of many English towns. He thought the Club might do a great deal in the formation of public taste, and of insisting that the dwelling-houses of the future should be regulated, not by the amount of profit they might bring to the speculative builder, but by the requirements of civic taste and artistic beauty. A beautiful house might be just as useful as an ugly one, and it might be just as cheap to build, for it was not the overlaying of ornamental decoration that made for intrinsic beauty.

They would have great questions arising every day. They had, for instance, the question—which he was not going to enter upon except to mention—of these Government buildings on the Calton Hill—what they were to be, how they were to be, and if they should be there at all? Some of them might think that the present jail was quite a picturesque building, although he knew other people said it should

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never have been there, and should not have been built in the form of a feudal castle, because a feudal castle was meant to keep people out, whereas a jail was meant to keep people in. Personally, he thought the Government buildings would have been much better in St. James Square, where they could have been put down at much less expense, and where they had a great chance of dealing with a lot of property at the head of Leith Street, and Leith Street Terrace, and the east end of Princes Street, and making a fine *place* at a particularly congested part of the town. It would have made a marvellous city improvement. All these things showed how important it was that a Club like that, associated though it might be more directly with the antiquities of Edinburgh, should form public opinion to a certain extent, and encourage the discussion of these things and make its value felt in the adornment and still further beauty of their already beautiful city.

Mr. W. B. BLAIKIE, who seconded, referred to the loss that the Club had sustained by the death of Mr. Bruce J. Home, one of the vice-presidents. Mr. Home, he said, probably knew more about Old Edinburgh than any other member of the community. He had made a life study of the ancient city and its buildings. He was the author of the first article in the first volume of the Book of the Club, an article which contained a Map of the Old Town, which Lord Rosebery had declared to be worth the whole annual subscription in itself. The Council would greatly miss Mr. Home, who ever placed his knowledge at the service of the Club. Mr. Blaikie went on to say that the editorial committee had two ideas in preparing the Book of the Club. Some thought that their Book should really be a printing of old records; others thought the printing records too dry, and that they should have something more in the nature of a magazine article. They had tried to hold the balance fair. They were, he said, very much indebted to those gentlemen who had contributed the papers.

Mr. BLAIKIE then moved the re-election of Lord Rosebery as Honorary President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, Professor John Chiene, C.B., and Professor Hume Brown, LL.D., as Honorary Vice-Presidents, and the motion was cordially adopted.

On the motion of Mr. WILLIAM COWAN, Mr. W. B. Blaikie was unanimously elected President of the Club.

Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, R.S.A., Mr. William Cowan, and Mr. W. Moir Bryce were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Honorary Secretary, Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, C.A., as Honorary Trea-

surer, and Mr. John Hamilton, C.A., as Honorary Auditor. Sir Thomas Hunter, LL.D., W.S., Mr. Thomas Ross, LL.D., Rev. Henry Paton, M.A., and Mr. Charles S. Romanes, C.A., were elected members of Council.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. W. Fraser Dobie, Mr. John A. Fairley, Mr. William Moir Bryce, and Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, the retiring members of Council.

In terms of Rule III., the applications for membership provisionally accepted by the Council were submitted and unanimously approved.

Mr. BAIRD, Portobello, suggested that the time had come when the membership of the Club might be extended. He asked the Committee to take the matter into consideration, to raise the membership from 300 to 350.

The Chairman said he had no doubt the Committee would consider the suggestion.

Mr. W. B. BLAIKIE moved a vote of thanks to Sir James Balfour Paul for presiding.

The meeting then terminated.

ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For Year ending 31st December 1912.

THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., *Honorary Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 23rd January 1913. — I have examined the Accounts of the Intromissions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for Year ending 31st December 1912, of which the above is an Abstract, and find them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., Hon. Auditor,

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

1912

ALEXANDER, JAMES, 45 Cluny Drive.
Alexander, Miss M. A., 11 Torphichen Street.
Allison, James, 5 Ventnor Terrace.
Anderson, David, Advocate, 12 India Street.
Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 12 Learmonth Terrace.
Anderson, John, 14 Napier Road.
Anderson, Walter G., 31 Drummond Place.
Angus, William, Record Office, H.M. Register House.
Armitage, Mrs. H. A., The Grange, North Berwick.
Armstrong, John Johnston, Clunie, Broomieknowe.

BAIRD, WILLIAM, J.P., Clydesdale Bank House, Portobello.
Balfour, Prof. Isaac Bayley, Inverleith House.
Barbour, James S., 2 Blackford Road.
Barclay, Oswald, 17 Gayfield Square.
Barnett, David, Corporation Museum.
Barrett, J. A. S., M.A., 4 Melville Terrace, West Park Road, Dundee.
Barrie, John A., 114 Viewforth.
Baxendine, Andrew, 10 M'Laren Road.
Baxter, David, M.A., Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.
Bell, Mackenzie, 11 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
Berry, Robert, 19 Kilmaurs Terrace.
Blaikie, Walter Biggar, LL.D., 11 Thistle Street. (*President.*)
Blanc, Hippolyte J., R.S.A., 25 Rutland Square. (*Vice-President.*)
Bonar, Horatius, W.S., 3 St. Margaret's Road.
Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.
Boyes, John, 40 Glendevon Place.
Brims, William, J.P., 7 Merchiston Place.
Brotherston, G. M., 23 Jeffrey Street.
Brown, Mrs. David, Willowbrae House, Willowbrae Road.
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, 50 George Square.
Brown, James R., 46 Inverleith Place.
Brown, Miss Joan, 17 Gilmour Road.

THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Brown, Prof. P. Hume, LL.D., 20 Corrennie Gardens. (*Hon. Vice-Pres.*)

Bruce, Alexander, Clyne House, Pollokshields.

Bruce, James, W.S., 59 Great King Street.

Bryce, P. Ross, F.S.A.Scot., 1 Lady Road.

Bryce, Wm. Moir, F.S.A.Scot., Dunedin, Blackford Road. (*Vice-President.*)

Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.

CALDERWOOD, Rev. R. S., F.R.S.E., Cambuslang.

Cameron, James M., 26 Melville Terrace.

Campbell, David, S.S.C., 31 Moray Place.

Campbell, J. D. B., The University Club, Princes Street.

Carbarns, Hugh, 25 Braidburn Crescent.

Cargill, Alexander, J.P., 18 Wester Coates Gardens.

Carmichael, James T., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.

Carmichael, The Right Hon. Lord, of Skirling, K.C.M.G., Malleny House, Balerno.

Carmichael, Thomas, S.S.C., 2 Strathearn Place.

Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Culzean Castle, Maybole.

Chambers, C. E. S., 44 Drumsheugh Gardens.

Chiene, John, C.B., Aithernie, Davidson's Mains. (*Hon. Vice-Pres.*)

Chrystal, F. M., c/o Williamson, 5 Lauriston Park.

Clark, Alexander, Keeper, Register of Deeds, Register House.

Clark, John B., M.A., F.R.S.E., Heriot's Hospital.

Clarkson, James Copland, 20 Forth Street.

Cochrane, Robert, 52 Morningside Drive.

Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.

Cooper, W. Ross, M.A., 94 George Street.

Cormack, D. S., 16 Dalziel Place, London Road.

Couper, Rev. W. J., M.A., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow.

Cowan, John James, Westerlea, Murrayfield.

Cowan, William, 47 Braid Avenue. (*Vice-President.*)

Craig, Sterling, M.A., 130 Princes Street.

Cranston, Sir Robert, K.C.V.O., V.D., Dunard, Grange Loan.

Crawford, Donald, M.A., K.C., 35 Chester Street.

Crawford, George, 60 Marchmont Road.

Croal, Miss Caroline H., 14 Eyre Crescent.

Cumming, David, 32 St. Alban's Road.

Cuthbertson, David, 9 Melville Terrace.

DALGLEISH, JOHN J. (of Westgrange), Brankston Grange, Alloa.
Dalrymple, Hon. Hew, Lochinch, Castle Kennedy, Wigtownshire.
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Deas, John W., S.S.C., 63 Frederick Street.
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Elliot, Andrew, 17 Princes Street.
Elliot, Lieut.-Colonel The Hon. Fitzwilliam, 16 Royal Terrace.
Elliot, Stuart Douglas, S.S.C., 40 Princes Street.

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Fergus, James A., 27 Braid Road.
Ferguson, James Haig, M.D., 7 Coates Crescent.
Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 7 Coates Crescent.
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Finlay, Rev. W. Russell, Ribblesdale, Dorking, Surrey.
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Forbes, Miss Mabel C., 4 Grosvenor Crescent.
Forrest, John L., 19 Warrender Park Crescent.
Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.
Fox, Charles Henry, M.D., 35 Heriot Row.

GARVEN, JAMES, Pinkie Pans, Musselburgh.
Geddie, John, 16 Ann Street.
Gibb, James A. T., I.S.O., 8 Dalkeith Street, Portobello.
Gibson, James T., W.S., 14 Regent Terrace.
Gibson, Thomas, 7 Glengyle Terrace.
Gilbert, W. M., *Scotsman* Office, North Bridge.
Giles, Arthur, F.R.S.G.S., 191 Bruntsfield Place.
Gilmour, Col. R. Gordon, of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton.
Gissing, Algernon, 66 Marchmont Road.

Glasse, Rev. John, D.D., Bayview, Upper Largo, Fife.
 Goudie, Gilbert, 31 Great King Street.
 Graham, R. D., M.A., F.R.S.E., 11 Strathearn Road.
 Grant, John, 39 George Square.
 Gray, James, 29 Polwarth Gardens.
 Gray, Robert Collie, S.S.C., 10 Hermitage Drive.
 Gray, W. Forbes, 8 Mansionhouse Road.
 Green, Charles E., 4 St. Giles Street.
 Greig, Thomas B., Woodridge, Dalkeith.
 Grierson, Andrew, 29 Mayfield Road.
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 Guy, John C., Sheriff-Substitute, 7 Darnaway Street.

HAMILTON, JOHN, C.A., 35 Alva Street. (*Hon. Auditor.*)
 Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.
 Hardie, R. S. L., Ashley, Ratho.
 Harrison, John, Rockville, 3 Napier Road.
 Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.
 Heron, Alexander, S.S.C., 14 Merchiston Park.
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 Hogben, John, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
 Home, Miss Jessie Wood, 2 Atholl Place.
 Home, Robert, 64 Frederick Street.
 Hope, Thomas, 129 Paynes Road, Southampton.
 Hunter, Sir Thomas, W.S., LL.D., Town Clerk, City Chambers.
 Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.

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 Inglis, Miss Margaret J., 39 Bruntsfield Place.
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 Johnstone, David, 75 Hanover Street.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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- KAY, JOHN TELFER, 10 Granton Road.
 Kelly, John G., 3 Whitehouse Loan.
 Kemp, Alexander, 227 Dalkeith Road.
 Kerr, Rev. John, M.A., The Manse, Dirleton.
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 Kirk, Rev. John, 17 Greenhill Gardens.
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 Lessels, John, 35 Spring Gardens, Abbeyhill.
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 Macdonald, Wm. Rae, F.F.A., Neidpath, Wester Coates Avenue.
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- Macfarlane, W. W., 10 Tipperlinn Road.
 Macfie, Daniel, 56 St. Alban's Road.
 M'Guffie, John, 10 Ardoch Street, Possilpark, Glasgow.
 MacIntosh, Mrs. Mary Hay, 23a Dick Place.
 Mackay, James F., W.S., Whitehouse, Cramond Bridge.
 Mackay, John, S.S.C., 37 York Place.
 Mackay, L. M., 13 Windsor Street.
 Mackay, William, Solicitor, Inverness.
 Mackay, William, M.A., 3 Danube Street.
 M'Kenzie, James, 201 Morningside Road.
 M'Lean, Miss, 19 Coates Crescent.
 M'Lean, Miss Frances A., 19 Coates Crescent.
 MacLeod, John Lorne, S.S.C., 25 Albany Street.
 M'Leod, Alex. N., c/o Jeffrey, 4 Bruntsfield Terrace.
 M'Leod, Neil, 81 Harrison Road.

- Macphail, J. R. N., 55 Great King Street.
 MacRitchie, Lewis A., 40 Princes Street. (*Hon. Secretary.*)
 M'Taggart, John, 5 Argyle Park Terrace.
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 Melven, William, M.A., 7 Jedburgh Gardens, Kelvinside, Glasgow.
 Menzies, John R., 3 Grosvenor Crescent.
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 Milne, Archibald, M.A., 108 Comiston Drive.
 Milne, H. W., 29 Queen's Crescent.
 Minto, John, M.A., 83 Comiston Drive.
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 Mitchell, William, M.A., LL.B., 27 Howe Street.
 Mitchell-Thomson, Sir M., Bart., 6 Charlotte Square.
 Morris, George, 339 High Street.
 Moscrip, James, Parsonsgreen House, Meadowbank.
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 Murdoch, Lieut.-Col. James, V.D., St. Kilda, York Road, Trinity.
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 Paton, Henry Macleod, 22 West Savile Terrace.
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 Paul, Sir James Balfour, C.V.O., LL.D., 30 Heriot Row. (*Hon. Vice-Pres.*)
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 Petrie, James A., 31 Rosslyn Crescent.
 Plummer, W. R., 8 Huntly Street.
 Price, Charles E., M.P., 10 Atholl Crescent.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Profit, Alexander P., Jacob's Land, 55 Calton Road.
Proudfoot, George, 68 Spottiswoode Street.
Pursell, James, Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.

REID, ALAN, The Loaning, Merchiston Bank Gardens.
Reid, John, 46 Strathearn Road.
Reid, Mrs., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.
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Robertson, William, 10 Atholl Place.
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(*Honorary President.*)
Ross, Thomas, LL.D., 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
Rusk, J. M., S.S.C., 14 Whitehouse Loan.
Russell, John, 323 Leith Walk.
Rutherford, R. S., 36 Garscube Terrace.

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Sanderson, Arthur, 25 Learmonth Terrace.
Sanderson, Miss Cecilia, 14 Rothesay Place.
Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Abercromby Place.
Sands, William, 21 Hanover Street.
Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street.
Scougal, A. E., LL.D., 1 Wester Coates Avenue.
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Sime, David, 27 Dundas Street.
Sinton, James, Hassendean, Eastfield, Joppa.
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Smail, Adam, 35 Lauriston Gardens.
Smart, John, W.S., 34 Drummond Place.
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Smith, Rev. R. Nimmo, LL.D., 13 Learmonth Terrace.
Steedman, James, 72 Morningside Drive.

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 Steuart, James, W.S., 10 Rothesay Terrace.
 Stewart, Daniel, 1 Palmerston Road.
 Stewart, Ian C. L., W.S., 28 India Street.
 Stewart, John, 88 George Street.
 Sturrock, John, 8 Trinity Crescent, Leith.
 Sturrock, Rev. John, 10 Glengyle Terrace.
 Sutherland, James B., S.S.C., 10 Royal Terrace.

THIN, GEORGE T., 7 Mayfield Terrace.
 Thin, James, 22 Lauder Road.
 Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.
 Thin, Robert, M.D., 25 Abercromby Place.
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 Thomson, James W., Clydesdale Bank, George Street.
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 Thomson, T. S., 18 Rothesay Place.
 Thomson, William, W.S., 19 Merchiston Avenue.
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 Torrance, Miss Jessie, 54 Henderson Row.
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 Turnbull, G. Barbour, 43 George Street.
 Turnbull, William James, 16 Grange Terrace.

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VOGE, Mrs., 4 Cluny Avenue.

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 Walker, Alexander, J.P., 1 Tipperlinn Road.
 Walker, W. Glassford, C.A., 39 George Street.
 Walkinshaw, Miss Jean Inglis, 11 Scotland Street.
 Wallace, A. D., 53 Gilmour Road.
 Watherston, John, 8 Wester Coates Gardens.
 Watson, Charles B. Boog, 1 Napier Road.
 Watson, John, F.R.I.B.A., 27 Rutland Street.
 Watson, Walter T., Advocate, 28 India Street.
 Watson, Hon. William, 8 Heriot Row.
 White, William K., 123 High Street.
 Whitson, Thomas B., C.A., 21 Rutland Street. (*Hon. Treasurer.*)

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Wilkie, James, S.S.C., 108 George Street.
Williams, Mrs. A., 8 Frederick Street.
Williamson, Rev. Andrew Wallace, D.D., 44 Palmerston Place.
Williamson, George, 178 High Street.
Williamson, J. A., Holmwood, Corstorphine.
Wilson, William Scott, 94 Craighouse Road.
Wood, G. M., Junr., W.S., 19 Alva Street.
Wright, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.
Wright, Johnstone Christie, Northfield, Colinton.

YOUNG, WILLIAM, Donaldson's Hospital.

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Craig, Miss, 71 Falcon Road.
Drummond, Andrew, 17 Gardner's Crescent.
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Ferguson, Miss Jessie, The Lodge, Forbes Road.
Geddes, Professor Patrick, Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.
Gibb, John, 24 Nelson Street.
Gibson, Miss, 51 Lothian Road.
Gibson, Miss, 14 Regent Terrace.
Grant, Dr. Hope, Invicta House, Sheerness.
Ingram, Alexander, 12 Bright's Crescent.
Joss, John, c/o Denholm, 7 Wellington Street.
King, David, Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.
King, Miss Lottie A., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.
Lownie, James H. W., 7 Admiral Terrace.
Middleton, Miss J. G., Manorhead, Stow.
Middleton, Miss Harriet Aitken, Manorhead, Stow.
Ritchie, Patrick, 31 Comely Bank Road.
Sinclair, John, St. Ann's, Queen's Crescent.

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Old Edinburgh Club

1913

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CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'

II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.

III. The Club shall consist of Members and Associates. The number of Members shall be limited to three hundred. Candidates for membership, either as Members or Associates, must be proposed and seconded by two Members. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, and shall be considered by the Council. These, if approved, shall be submitted to the first meeting of the Club thereafter, election being by a majority of Members present.

Associates shall have no vote or voice in the management of the affairs of the Club, but shall be entitled to free admission to the meetings and to take part in the discussion of any subject under investigation.

IV. The Annual Subscription for Members shall be 10s. 6d., and for Associates, 2s. 6d.

Subscriptions shall be payable at the commencement of each Session. Any Member or Associate whose subscription is not paid within two months after being notified by the Treasurer may then be struck off the roll by the Council.

V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy arising throughout the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint, for special purposes, Committees to which Members and Associates may be added. At all meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and seven at meetings of Council.

VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.

VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear, until such has been paid.

Associates shall not be entitled to the Publications of the Club.

All papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider as to the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge all debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including all literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. Notice of any proposed alteration on this Constitution must be given in writing to the Secretary, to be intimated at the first meeting of the Club thereafter. Notice, embodying the full terms thereof, shall then be given by circular to each Member, not less than seven days prior to the meeting at which it is to be considered, but such proposed alteration shall not be given effect to unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present, or voting by proxy.

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